



BADFELLAS

Scorsese & Nicholson.
A divine match
made in hell. p.66

**WHAT
TRUDEAU
TOLD HIS
SHRINK**

P.60

KEEPING SECRETS
*Harper drops the cone
of silence in Ottawa*
P.20

MAGLEANS



OCT.
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founder
rips the
lid off
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Capital Diary Outtakes Michel Robitaille serves up an extra lot of Ottawa gossip. www.macleans.ca/440000/robitaille
TV Guidance Jenna J. Weinman's new blog keeps you up to date on the latest in TV culture. www.macleans.ca/weinman

Liberal leadership Keep tabs on the race with our new section featuring exclusive interviews commentary by Paul Wells, and articles by the candidates themselves. www.macleans.ca/liberal

NAUTICA



OUR LAWYERS sometimes need to be reminded what it is that makes Parliament great.

A time to celebrate
Parliament at its best

Partisanism is where our bias and prejudice—er, at least, our elated aspirations—gather together to create the will of the people in government and in managing. Members are asked to devote a half-hour of their time to an array of questions, from how much tax they pay to how we fight terrorism, to whether or not gay can marry. At their very best, our NPUs bring intelligence and good faith to the time-honoured parliamentary process of proposal, criticism and compromise. They sort through the competing interests of different sectors of our society and complex society, and quote often success in reconciling the irreconcilable, allowing us to put aside our differences and live in relative peace.

Of course, Parliament is not always at its best. One running MP offered the following observation: "I will not regret leaving what has become a totally dysfunctional institution. I will not miss the thrill of making well-researched speeches in a virtually empty room. I will not miss working long hours on irrelevant ministerial guided committees. I will not miss the pressure."

Prime Minister Jean Chrétien, Canada's 17th prime minister, summed it up best: "One moment it's a cathedral, at another time these are no words to describe it when it ceases, for two periods of time, to have any regard for the principles that constitute not only Parliament, but its tradition. I've seen it all this morning. Have it suddenly goes on at when it is demolished."

At Maclean's, we strongly believe in the importance of good democratic practice and the fundamental integrity of our parliamentary institutions, and we want to do our part to encourage what's best in the publisher's cathedral. Next month, in association with Peter Milliken, Speaker of the House, as well as the Dominion Institute and Maclean's magazine, we will present the inaugural Maclean's Dominion Institute Parliamentary of the Year Award.

The award will be based on an exclusive MP survey mailed this week by Ipsos-Reid to 308 federal riding offices across the country. We are asking the members to tell us who among their peers is the hardest worker, the most knowledgeable, the most collegial, the best orator, and who ultimately best represents his or her constituents. Along with the award for Best MP, five other awards will be given based on responses to the questionnaire. The presentations will be made at a gala event hosted by the Speaker of the House on Parliament Hill on Nov. 21. That same week, Canada's best MP will be the focus of a special edition of *Maclean's*.

While our work as journalists often forces us to focus for much of the year on what is wrong and broken on Parliament Hill, it is sometimes easy to forget the MPs who have dedicated their lives to the public service, who exemplify what's good about Parliament, and who tirelessly work to change it for the better. These awards will shine a light on some of this good work and celebrate what is still, with all its faults, a healthy and lively democratic process. **M**

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A WEEK IN THE LIFE OF TIE DOMI

The retired NHL player's messy separation from his wife of 13 years comes to get messy. Last week, after Tie Domi filed a restraining order application in which he alleges Domi has been having an affair with Linda Behndt Storch, the couple came to a temporary settlement. On Monday, however, Domi's estranged wife filed an affidavit accusing him of violating a restraining order that prohibits him from unauthorized visits to the family's home in Toronto.

Good news

Setting boundaries

Stephen Harper showed that Canada still has some sway on the international stage. First, during a summit of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) in Paris, Harper's announcement of a transatlantic trade pact, the Prime Minister broke news, refusing to sign a compromise that violated one of the Liberal campaign promises during the January-February election. "To recognize the victims of Lebanon... and the victims of Israel," Harper said. Few were pleased with the PM, but even French President Jacques Chirac begrudgingly admitted Harper was right. Taking a hard stand also paid dividends north of the border, where the U.S. Congress agreed to postpone for six months tough new rules that will require everyone to carry a passport if they want to cross the U.S. border. The decision came after much business lobbying and a few blunt words from Harper, who explicitly warned the Americans that making the new rules would be disastrous for both economies. They listened.

Listen up, Lula

The voters of Brazil appear to be sending a message to their left leader: shape up. In the four years since Lula (Luiz Inácio da Silva) was elected, his government has been mired by scandal, including recent allegations that his party gaddied to dig up dirt on a scandal. Lula's increased funding to anti-war programs has caused poverty for many, but critics say he's doing nothing to improve Brazil's education, and has failed to unite the Brazilian economy. All that translated into a surprise drop in support in this week's low-stakes election. Lula unexpectedly fell short of the 50

Gitmo book club

Guantanamo Bay inmates are not suffering from a lack of good reading material. According to librarians at the U.S. base, the detainees, many of whom have college degrees, use modern literary, philosophy and fiction. The prison library, library collection currently consists of about 4,000 volumes, but staff is about to have 20,000 within the next few years. Among detainees' favorite picks are Agatha Christie mysteries, the writings of Khalil Gibran and the Harry Potter series. One will help book that is frequently checked out, called

Don't be bad, is available in Arabic and English. It encourages patience and gratitude.

Painful!

The nation's most prestigious (and lucrative) award for journalism, the Pulitzer Prize, was awarded to a book, and not a person. After 12 years and 40 nominations of mostly fiction and non-fiction writing, during which a single author, Hubert's *And Drinking You*, made the short list, the Geller

Bad news

Bad guys get bolder

Iran and North Korea show no signs of letting up on their respective quests for nuclear arsenals. On Tuesday, North Korea's foreign ministry issued a statement announcing its intention to conduct a nuclear test to follow the country's violence and nuclear weapons test against "the U.S. economic threat of a nuclear war and sanctions." On the same day, the U.S. and Britain stepped up threats of sanctions against

FACE OF THE WEEK



COLEBUSH: A local resident reacts to news that a man spotted fire on a group of girls in an Austin schoolhouse in Hockley Hills, Pa.

Pope John Paul visited two Quebec novels on its 2006 list. *God-let Society*, one of Canada's best writers, was nominated for a recent translation of his best novel, 1994's *The Immortalist*. *Conquest*, and *Travels of Quiver* got the nod for her new novel *The Perfect Circle*. In fact, the short list boasts three Quebec novels, including the English-language *De Niro* Game by Montreal (and Montreal contributor) *Rue 110*, to go with other novel collections by Toronto editor Vincent Lane (*Blindfolded*), *De Niro* Game and *De Niro* Game by *Wiley* (*Wiley Schilling*).

Iran because officials said the country shows no signs of letting down on development of nuclear technologies. Instead, an official for Iran's Atomic Energy Organization suggested that France invest in the nation's nuclear industry and increase its work in Tehran. Somehow, this doesn't strike as a good enough

Terror at school

It was another tragic week in North American classrooms: the worst in what has already been a bloody month of in-school violence. In Colorado,

THE WEEK AHEAD

Jeremy Biondo, 23, charged with first-degree murder in the slaying of a Medicine Man couple and their young son, will enter his plea in court. The couple's 12-year-old daughter is also charged with murder. The winner of the Man Booker Prize 2006 will be announced. There were no Canadians on this year's short list.

Bad news

a joint training exercise. American students, then killed one of the girls before turning the gun on himself. Two days later in Pennsylvania, 12-year-old Charles Roberts IV, a father of three, walked into a mall and shot several with a rifle, a 9-mm handgun and a 12-gauge shotgun. After ordering all the boys to leave, police say he lined up the girls along the backboard and began shooting them "en masse." At least five students are dead. Biondo is making history: it's the first time in the history of the National School Safety Center. "Today's tragedy becomes the event that plans the need for tomorrow's crisis."

Deadly cheat

According to a disturbing new report, Canada is among several nations producing millions of exploding loopholes in international arms-trade laws that allows them to sell weapons components to embargoed nations. The report, prepared by the Control Arms Campaign led by Oxfam and Amnesty in

international reveals that Canada, U.S. and European companies are circumventing arms regulations by selling components of weapons, and then reassembling arms-manufacturing overseas in countries like China, Thailand and Israel. The full list of banned weapons have later surfaced in Colombia, Sudan and Uzbekistan, where they have reportedly been used against civilians. "Europe and North America are bad. Becoming the B&B of the arms industry, supplying parts for human rights abuses to assemble at home, with the models not included,"

Split's girl

Arizona who says that Canadians are pathologically polite has probably never come face-to-face with Neigman. On, progressions and Lavigne. In recent weeks, Lavigne has been captured on film several times berating and swearing at fans and paparazzi. Most recently, after leaving a nightclub in Los Angeles last week, she got out of the window after SUV into the face of a photographer while her entourage, and after her husband Derek Whibley of the band Nickelback, laughed. This week, Lavigne posted an apology for her behaviour, when she had reportedly been told that her own daughter "had a reaction to the parents' attitude." Her parents, Lavigne says "no offense" to her fans, "where relationship is truly love." She put her couple way of showing it. ■

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Oct. 1 is a public holiday in China, in celebration of the founding of the People's Republic in 1949, and the beginning of a week-long holiday marked by public festivities—both grand and small—and congestion, as millions take the opportunity to travel.

- 2 Residents in a part of a street decorated with 200,000 red lanterns as part of National Day celebrations in Guiyang, in southern China's Guizhou province
- 3 Bikes parked swimming in Jialing, in eastern China's Anhui province, at the start of the holiday
- 4 Women receive a shower of flowers and red paper for wedding at a village on the outskirts of Yancheng in Shaoxing province. This trend for young people to marry during the holiday has provided huge opportunities for wedding service companies
- 5 Military honour guards patrolling in Beijing
 - Big stacks on the back of a building during a 2nd festival in Wuai, said China's Jingbei province
- 6 Visitors take a peek of a huge portrait of Jiu Yit-sen, recognized as China's modern founder at Tiananmen Square in Beijing



MITCHEL RAPHAEL ON PARLIAMENT'S SECRET NOTE-PASSER AND THE WITCHES OF EAST BLOCK

WOMEN LIKE A MAN WHO KEEPS IN TOUCH

Bob Rae's scoring of female Liberal leadership candidates is looking a lot like the 1987 film *The Witches of Eastwick*, in which Jack Nicholson seduced, one after the other, red-headed Susan Sarandon, blond Michelle Pfeiffer and black-haired Sissy Spacek. Welcome to the political season. The Witches of East Block. Rae's first co-quintessence Carolyn Bennett (the blond). "She's been very good at keeping in touch," word-bombers who were on to explain that as the last election, female support for the Liberals was



BOB RAE works his magic on Heidi Fey, (left) Bennett and Holly Findlay

decided to red-headed Marissa (Holly Findlay). She always has "a really good at calling," but then she's stepping in the race, a 21st-century leadership contest simply has to have a woman in it, she says. But then again, Chae, the last of the known witches to be seduced by Nicholson, did tell him, "You are physically repulsive, intellectually retarded, you have no taste, a lousy sense of

humour and you smell!" And then she jumped on his back hairs.

CUMMERBUDD CUTBACKS

The National Arts Centre in Ottawa held its 10th anniversary gala to raise funds for their National Youth and Education Trust, a program that, among other things, creates exposure for young talent like 19-year-old Calgary wonder-toot Juan Lorence, who played piano that night along with star accordionist Yo-Yo Ma. The girl's honorary chair was the PM's wife, Laureen Harper. One government NAC fanfareist said Mrs. Harper was much more active than past honorary chair Mrs. Sheila Mody and Alice Chatham in getting people to attend the event. Mrs. Harper even made a chandelier for the NAC. Ever out of appreciation shrouded in tubing and strings of beads, (She used the wires leading to make herself earrings.) The chandelier was lit up in jubilation. Her concert was, once again, President of the Treasury Board John Baird, who'd picked up for the event after a Commons vote. The raised Baird was so rapt he forgot his cumberbund. Mrs. Harper disdained her daughter's wardrobe cutback, saying

"Cummerbunds are so last year. You don't need one." Apparently the other cabinet members attending did not get that fashion message. But the NAC was just relieving money. Mody followed up. There was some worry about getting politicians out of the new accountability regime. This year MPs were not given corporate donations as they had been in the past—several were guests of the NAC, including a Free Market, and others paid around \$100 to reimburse the NAC for the use of the dinner. None of the MPs brought a regular price fall-backside of \$1,000

PARLIAMENTARY PLANKSTER

Ottawa Liberal MP Mark Holland (Aqua Pickering) is known for moving his legs in his gestures he questions before being recognized by the Speaker. He has been doing

CELLIST Yo-Yo Ma at the NAC



and by anonymous notes he's been getting in the House that read: "I know you're making a gesture today." Capital Diary is pleased to clear up the mystery for Holland, having learned that the note culprit John Baird.

ON THE WEB: For more Ottawa outtakes, see Mitchell Raphael's new blog at www.mitchelraphael.com

OPINION

Wouldn't you like to join our sinking ship?



ANDREW PORTER

Can God make a redneck heavy hearted? That is the sort of any problem philosophy teachers are to answer and answer first year undergraduates in their's answer: could

God make that 1-1-1? Theological paradoxes arise out of the conception of God as omnipotent. What does it mean to be all-powerful? Does God get to override the laws of biology, of physics, or even reason itself?

In any case, the bulk of the students adopt the pose of indifference when asked who take the problem seriously and are genuinely thoughtful. Some of them bite the bullet and accept that, if being all powerful means anything, it means being able to violate even the laws of logic. God, they say, can do what ever he wants. We call these students solipsists, after the Latin word for "self," as in God's. Others just can't wrap their heads around the possibility that 1+1 could equal 5. We call these moralists.

If you are Pope Benedict XVI, you might be the first group of students. Muslims, and the second group Christians. The Pope believes that the Christians and Muslims have come to common ground. The Christians and Muslims. Why? Because Muslims and Christians have reconciled themselves to the primacy of reason, while Muslims cling to a conception of God as completely outside (and unanswerable to) human understanding.

What the Pope was supposedly trying to say in his now infamous speech in Regensburg was that dialogue and understanding are possible between communities of radically different belief, as long as both sides are committed to working out what he called "the universal of reason." Muslims, unfortunately, occupy a different plane of existence altogether, since according to their teaching (except the Pope), "God is absolutely trans-

scendent. His will is not bound up with any of our categories, even that of rationality." For the Pope, both faith and reason are necessary. Less others out, and you have less than a complete appreciation for the human condition. And, say his defenders, he was merely evading the Muslims would join the Christian world in the grand rapprochement between Judaism and Abhis-



Muslims may see the Pope's offer for what it is: an invitation to the demise of their faith

the ongoing dialogue between Biblical faith and Greek philosophy and science. Muslims have to be deluded. Their offer, probably because they see it as an invitation to the destruction of their faith.

Catholics have gone further than any other group of Christians in renegeing the revealed truth of their faith with the empirical world of scientific inquiry. Five hundred years ago, Catholicism was a comprehensive moral, political, and scientific system. It had an explanation for the existence of the sun and moon and stars and of the origins of life on earth; it offered a complete account of human flourishing and perfection, and prescribed the right to intervene in political affairs. Then the Enlightenment came along, and the Catholics started looking down.

It wasn't emphasizing just how complete the retreat has been. Antirealist taught to about the big bang, while Charles Darwin gave us the theory of evolution. The appar-

ition of church and state is an entrenched principle of political organization throughout what used to be called Christendom. As for human flourishing, Catholicism now competes not only with other religions, but with everything from psychotherapy to neo-stoicism. What comes to looking menacing and scary is the Christian world in the grand rapprochement between Judaism and Abhis-

did take centuries of struggle to get the point to sink in.

Not everyone denied completely in the bottom of reason. Living in the U.S. and—if you believe the *Wall Street Journal*—in Canada are busy fighting a strategic action against modernity, and even the Pope seems to think too much has been made of it. In any case, he led a closed-door discussion of the theological paradoxes of the Pope's offer, and he is uncomfortable with his predecessor's declaration that "evolutionism is a dead end hypothesis."

But these say mapping up operations in the new world of faith. That's not a bad thing. If they both the wages on the horns of blind faith, it becomes just another arbitrary and irrational creed, no better than

writing "Jeh" on one's forehead. But reason has a way, once it has its foot in the door, of taking over the whole house. In virtually every field in which it has gone up against sensible, sensible and moral philosophy, Christianity has come out the loser.

There is no question of tolerating or defending the violence in the Muslim world that erupted in the wake of the Pope's address, no justification whatsoever for the murder of a man or the teaching of a church. But if you look at the history of Catholicism through Muslim eyes, the faithless dialogue of the past few centuries looks less like a rapprochement than a riot. If this is a journey upon which the Pope has invited the Islamic world to embark, Muslims can be forgiven for disbelieving, in the grounds that the destination holds little appeal. ■

ON THE WEB: For more Andrew Porter's work, visit his blog at www.andrewporter.com

TREASURY BOARD PRESIDENT John Baird and Laureen Harper





'Ignatieff—someone who has been out of the country for 35 years—he's an expert on my party and my reputation?'

JOE VOLPE, FEDERAL LIBERAL LEADERSHIP HOPEFUL, TALKS TO KATE FILLION ABOUT HIS SKILL SET, AFGHANISTAN, AND SIGNING UP THE DEAD

Q *You entered the civil job market aggressively, knocking off a string of Labor MPs. How has that shaped your reputation and your career?*

A. What it did give an indication that I was willing to challenge perceived norms and conventional wisdom, and that I was willing to challenge the system. The old boys' network didn't like that.

Q You've been an MP for 19 years. How've you portrayed us a tough guy, a backroom boy, a conservative? Is that changing?

As You need to have pretty thick skin in politics, I've seen a number who know all

the ropes, who understands the rough and tumble of it, and who's able to rise above it—and in terms of issues that are important to Canada, I'm respected as having a better understanding of race-related Canadian issues, in other words those issues that take Canada beyond today, than virtually anybody else.

Q: You mean anybody's in the headrest?
SAC:?

A: Yes. The proof of it is that alone, of all of the candidates, I've been the subject of a lot of attention, and all of that attention has never been with respect to either my competence or my character.

Q: Why do you think the press doesn't focus on the fact that you speak three languages fluently and have three degrees?

and [for] the only one who's actually been on all sides of this issue—as an educator, an administrator, an investigator, as someone who's worked with the unions, with the learning centers, so I know not only the details but the methods to get there accomplished. Why aren't people paying attention to that? I'll be guessing, but I'll say that what the press has been attracted to so far is sort of a personality issue.

Q The Liberal party has given you 30 days to pay a \$25,000 fee because your volunteers recruited supporters who didn't pay their own membership fee. Are you going to withdraw from the race so you don't have to pay?

Q Campaign donations from children: Dead people being registered as supporters. Why isn't it better for the Liberal party if you simply ask donors from the next?

As if people have been able to throw stones at my campaign, it's because we have been totally transparent and open. People have focused on me as opposed to anybody else because it serves their political interests, not because there's anything untoward. With respect to donations, nothing was done illegally or against cooperation.

Q. But the critics were bad. And that's why you paid the money back.

At I don't want to disagree with you. The apes were bad. I told my people, "That's not what we're about, we're giving the money back." As far as my people were concerned, they did things that were within convention.

But that's fine, we're going to rise above it. We're going to go to the essence of the law, and we're going to challenge everybody to the same. And you know what? There were no taken. With respect to what happened in the sign-up process, there can't be one person in this world who is innocent when he or she says that Joe Valpe would want to go out there and stir up somebody who can't come and support him? It's just defies logic. And, accordingly, that Joe Valpe would go out there, in the media, and drive attention to some of these anomalies in a campaign environment because it's good for him or for the party? Where not just these things get entangled by various laws?

Q Then why do these attacks continue? Why did Carolyn Rensett say that you should withdraw from the race? Why has Michael Ignatieff said that you've caused "reputational damage" to the party?

A You've got to ask them. I mean, Carolyn Bennett has dropped out of the race and she's going to support somebody else. Ignatieff talking about "reputational damage"—here's someone who's been out of the country for 15 years, he's become an expert on my party and my reputation?

Q. It's got to be hard for your family.
A: The only thing that anybody has in life is their own good name. I've had occasion not to be pleased with the way some of the



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FIRST > FOR YOU

WANT TO KNOW A SECRET? TOO BAD

Harper's Conservatives promised a new era of full accountability. Then they got into power.

BY JOHN GEDDES Only last fall, rising government-spice accountability seemed like the most pressing imperative in federal politics. Justice John Gauthier's probe into the sponsorship scandal was dominating the news, an election was in the air, and its outcome seemed likely to turn on which party convinced Canadian voters it was the most open and honest. Positioning his Conserva-

tives in honour bound to put an end to the Liberal way of running the country, Stephen Harper unveiled a 32-point ethical package that was hailed as revolutionary. In the election campaign that soon followed, his Tory platform book repeated these points over and over: their anti-grocery groceries on how to make government accountable to the people—everything from cracking down on shady lobbying, to putting spent ahead of patronage in federal appointments, to strengthening the Access to Information law.

But the charged atmosphere around accountability is now giving way to a paler suspicion that some things might never change—

sparking a minor revolt when Tory backbench rebels. Not that these have been some serious actors. Harper made good on his vow to reform the way Ottawa operates—up to a point—only three months after winning power. The federal accountability act was, as promised, his very first piece of legislation. The same rules bill, which is now in the hands of a Senate committee, is spreading, encompassing dozens of measures that will require changes to about 100 existing laws. Some of its steps will revere basic fairness in party and business credit: the insurance of allowed individual political donations will be cut to \$1,000 from \$5,000, and union and company donations will be banned outright, meetings between lobbyists and top government officials will be disclosed on a public register, and senior ministers, ministerial aides, and senior mandarins will face a five-year cooling-off period before they can lobby government.

Yet Harper is at risk of forfeiting much of the credit for this and more by not moving to make government less secretive. His apparent fixation on controlling his message—

despised under discipline over what his cabinet members say, and his obvious suspicion of the news media—suggests a Prime Minister ill at ease with a free flow of information. There's more to it, though, than the matter of his personal style. When the accountability act was tabled last spring, it failed to include most of the Tory campaign promises designed to beef up the access to information rules. Instead, a House committee was assigned to study possible changes to the law in the indefinite future. Critics accuse the Conservatives of trying to postpone and, ultimately, scuttle the overpromised reforms under another guise: the lack of the act. "It's absolutely a death by committee tactic," said NDP MP Jay Martin. "They chickened out. Their officials and senior bureaucrats got to those."

At least a few Tories agree that making the spending committee an access to information, privacy and ethics to examine the issue isn't good enough. Michael Macdonald, the Ontario Conservative MP Mike Wallace wrote to Justice Minister Vic Toews on June 12, on behalf of himself and three other Tories on the committee, pressing for decisive action—redrafting of legislation—this fall in tough on the access law in line with the Tory campaign pledges. Wallace said in an interview that Toews has not responded to his letter. "We are committed to bringing forward a new act," he said, referring to the party's election platform. "Now, I know the justice minister has a lot on his plate, but I've got nothing for him to get it done fall."

That push gained added weight when the opposition MPs joined with the Tories on the committee recently to unanimously ask Toews to send their new legislation on access by December.

The all-party call for action is hardly welcome to the government's senior ranks. While Toews is responsible for the access law, Treasury Board President John Baird is the lead minister for the government's broader access to accountability. Baird has emerged as one of the most vocal critics of the Question Period performance on Harper's front benches, and he tries to deflect any question on the subject toward the Liberals. Baird's frustration plays a role in the Senate's failure to quickly pass the accountability act. Tight government Liberal senators of holding up the bill because the law's lowering of limits on political contributions would apply immediately to the Liberal leadership race, making it that much harder for the candidates to raise money in the stretch run.

JOHN BAIRD prefers to deflect questions on accountability back at the Liberals.

to their party's Nov. 18 Dec. 1 Convention. In fact, whenever the Senate does get around to passing them, Baird will be robbed of an all-purpose QP response. Passed by the NDP to launch further investigations into the Maher Arar case? "What we need is a report from the Liberal Senate to finally pass the federal access to information bill," Baird responds, "and finally let the corrupt practices of the previous Liberal regime be a part of Canadian history." Endgame by a Liberal about the government's appointment of a former Canadian Alliance candidate to a federal human rights tribunal? "We look for

officials to keep records of their actions and decisions, and emitting the public interest perspective over any possible justification for keeping information secret."

John Reid, who served as the federal information commissioner recently ended, blamed the failure to include these and other measures in the accountability act as "a serious policy disappointment." Even more troubling, Reid said, is a Justice Department discussion paper, released by Toews, that takes issue with just about every element of the Tory platform on access to information.

Reid explains the Harper's Tories are in jeopardy of being told off of the reform by an entrenched bureaucracy. Coming from an outsider, that critique might sting for a day. But if it sticks and the Conservatives begin to lose the sense driving away of their party and for change, Harper's way over his own access could be damaged. Wallace's letter to Toews suggests Tory MPs are squaring when they face their opposition counterpart. "A number of opposition members of the committee are claiming that the Conservative government is not interested in reforming the Access to Information Act," he complains in the letter. "I know this is not true. In this case, I wish that you please initiate the drafting of a reform bill at your earliest convenience."

Research his politics is an uncomfortable anxiety about what exactly the Conservatives stand for, now that they are running the show. One possible answer is, not as much as they did when they weren't. Duff Conacher, coordinator of Democracy Watch, a non-partisan advocacy group for disaster government, praised Harper's platform during the last election campaign. But Conacher claims the accountability act is failing to make good on many promises, including the limiting of access to information for a separate study. "Well, he doesn't consider the bill a total loss. It should have been a step forward," he says. "Instead, it's a giant half step forward, and in some cases a step back."

The political challenge for Harper now is to somehow keep attention focused on what he's doing, rather than on what he isn't—a task that could get that much harder if more of his own MPs join the ranks of those demanding more. ■



HARPER demands strict discipline over what ministers say.

THE BILL SPARKED A REVOLT IN THE TORY RANKS. FOUR MPS ARE DEMANDING IT BE TOUGHENED UP.

want to the federal accountability act being passed by the Liberal Senate," he fired back. "Because human rights are overwhelmingly important to Canadians."

Baird's refrain about the Senate's stalling might be intended to sustain if reforming access to information emerges as the new focal point of the debate on accountability. The most of the government's effort to get the government's access to information act in the Tory election platform, only their pledge to broaden the access law to cover more Crown corporations and other arms of government was included in the account. Baird is not an uncertain force, giving the federal information commissioner the power to refer documents to be released, obliging public



BAIRD'S COMPLAINTS

TOO HARSH ON QP



CELEBRITY POLITICIANS: Martin loved 'star candidates' like Michael Ignatieff; he was heckled by people you might have seen on TV.

YOU LOOK FAMILIAR

The leadership race shows the Liberals are still Paul Martin's party. And remember, he lost.



PAUL WELLS

Meanwhile, back in Ottawa, the government of Canada is governing Canada. In the past month, Stephen Harper has launched, with Howard Kester's help, a vigorous defence of Canada's Afghanistan deployment, cut \$1 billion on government spending and while he was announcing a \$15-billion surplus would go towards paying down the debt, nominated Gail Sant'Erre, a regional journalist, to the office of commissioner of official languages, addressed a rally of 40,000 ordinary Canadians on the front lawn of Parliament in rally in support of Canada's soldiers, and forced the leaders of the Bloc Québécois to acknowledge that suffering this summer also took place on the left's side of the Liberal-Quebec border.

The second job of a political party is to respond in appeal, the first to keep the party's voter base happy. The Liberal base, after about 2005, was a confused, alienated lot. After a while, large parts of it stopped being the Liberal base. I don't know whether Harper is closer to a majority than he was on Jan. 23, but at least he is working hard to make the Lib-

erals don't take back the votes he won. This is one challenge facing the Liberals as they ponder the returns from their "Super Weekend" delegate elections while they vote their time choosing a new leader, the other side is fighting in.

The delegate returns were unsurprising and almost entirely predictable. Michael Ignatieff did well, taking about 30 per cent of delegates for the leadership convention at the start of December, but not well enough to make his victory necessary to which the party could start appointing. Bob Rae, 18 points behind Ignatieff, showed weakness in Ontario. Stephen Dion showed weakness in a lot of places. Gerald Kennedy got absolutely nowhere in Quebec, but his name numbers—like better than that of Dion—in his local assemblywide delegate counts will encourage Kennedy to stay in the race. This thing will go to the convention floor in Montreal.

What's being redigged over the past several weeks is how thoroughly the party might support in this drama is Paul Martin's, not Jean Chrétien's. I am not speaking about concern or anything, or about Chrétien's allies

and supporters have returned to favour among Liberals, and while many of their support Rae, others are elsewhere. Martin's base has seemed so thoroughly that nobody can fairly be called the "Martin candidate" in this race. But a political party makes a political culture, and in his short tenure as leader from 2003 to 2006, Martin changed the Liberal culture so thoroughly that there seems little trace of Jean Chrétien Liberalism left. What remains are changes Martin brought, some of them seemingly correct when he introduced them but now deeply ingrained. Hence a partial list.

Celebrity politicians: Martin was all about recruiting "star candidates." He was fascinated by people you might have seen on late television. So Ken Dryden living up his status, Belinda Stronach pushing herself away from the outside but, and head coach Brian Lapierre and Michael Van der Grinten's surprise to render higher service to the nation. The bet was that ordinary people are impressed



BOB RAE: Unimpressed by the story that he knew as Mike

by politics but will be excited by somebody who does politics, plus some other trick. What is like the belief that drinking in a clock makes will be thoroughly improve rules of magazine subscriptions that you don't have to put out a good magazine.

What's significant is not that Martin brought all these something-like types to the Liberal, it's that the graft took. Dryden's great success makes him a genuinely worthy worthy, but he was actually learning more recently, not less, on covered hockey rink up there in Super Weekend approached. While he looks around, not only for a party willing to let him be the leadership, Stronach remains the oldest person of the Liberal Women's Caucus.

Chrétien's star candidates in 1991 were two crumbly beauties—Roy McManis, Doug Young, Marcel Masse—whose only selling point was competence. Martin's star looked like stars. There is no evidence the Liberals are returning to Chrétien's ways.

Novelty over loyalty. What dubious grace it must have been, in 2003 and 2004 and 2005, to be a veteran Liberal MP and work Ujal Dhillon, David Emerson and Scott Brison arrive from the private sector and lend strength for election. The Liberal party had a decade of economic growth and some easy outside under its belt. Martin's bet was that this did have would not mean more, so things were welcome.

Chrétien released complaints, too. But except for Dion and Pierre Pettigrew in a crisis, he made new arrivals cool their heels on the back benches for a long while. Once again, those days are over. Ignatieff, Rae, Brison and Dryden were unshaken by the irony of their experience to run a party they knew little better in January than, say, the French Socialist party.

Sticky love for Quebec. Ignatieff believes Quebec is a nation and the Constitution should be amended to say so. The others, except Martin (but Fredy, rather to agree with him on nonseparation, even though they disagreed with him on that). It's as though Pierre Trudeau had never lived. And although the party's immediate challenge was to pick off Mike Ignatieff in Quebec, not to run down side-righted independent voters in Montreal against former ally to Harper. Martin's handshake Quebec decision, Jean Lapierre, has been refreshingly discreet throughout, but no more: the whole party has taken Martin's

Quebec gambit and run with it.

Busy over concrete. In an interview, Dion awarded me that Chrétien's winning theme in 1991 was justice. Canada back to work. You don't get more basic leader than that. Not here's Dion running an extended seminar on global warming and permanent forest. Dion of all people should know Kyoto is a political dog because Dion is the only politician whose dog—I am not making this up—is named Kyoto. Dryden's long horse—Kyoto, Katsura, daydream for those persons lucky enough to get their heads in—with a lot of programs that won't teach most Canadians.

Here again, the party has come unstuck from an 1991 emphasis on simple values for the surprised dollar. Harper won in 2006 on that, not geography. He will be happy to see middle-class men again if they remain so eager to let him.

DION SHOULD KNOW KYOTO IS A POLITICAL DOG. HE'S GOT A DO NAMED KYOTO—SERIOUSLY.



VOTING DAY: Dion showed weakness in a lot of areas.

The front-running candidate, Ignatieff, is not not to have him is off with Paul Martin when they first met. But an important way he offers the Martin-winning formula again. He's pessimistic and unsure. He leaves 2006 on his left flank for the NDP to chase and split the Conservative vote. His policy for Quebec will find little support in other provinces. His policy for the world will find few takers in Quebec.

When Ignatieff pitched in Ottawamendille this summer for a Quebec wing convention, Martin showed up on a weekend occasion to address the troops. Still, the troops had already begun a schisming action he started to speak, and his remarks were all but drowned out by the shrill shrill. Liberals like to think they have put the Martin year behind them. That's not true. This really is a bet party. ■

ON THE WEB: For more Paul Wells, visit his blog at www.paulwells.ca/0606060606

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When a cop turns into a politician

Why the commissioner of the RCMP managed to keep his job after Arar

BY CHARLIE GILLIS For a man who asked his identity to be kept as the quintessential cop, Graham Zaccardelli sounds an awful lot like a politician. After solemnly apologizing last week for the Mounties' role in the very case of Maher Arar, the RCMP commissioner demonstrated the kind of rhetorical double-jointedness that would allow any to a scandal-ridden minister: "I accept the enormous duties of the report without exception," he told members of a Commons public safety committee, referring to a public inquiry led by Justice Dennis O'Connor. And then, having scarcely drawn another breath, he began quibbling with the conclusion he claimed to welcome.

It was ahead-spiriting performance, made poignant by the knowledge Zaccardelli was fighting for his professional life. The Mounties, after all, had borne the brunt of Justice O'Connor's finding that false information linking Arar to al Qaeda had led to the Ottawa man's year-long incarceration in Syria. More damage still was done when, from a meeting held in the Prime Minister's Office on Nov. 14, 2009, the RCMP, like other agencies, was supposed to provide senior federal officials with a realistic detail on its involvement in the case. Instead, the inquiry found, the Mounties' briefing material omitted enough vital information to be outright misleading—including the rather critical point that they had discredited Arar as an extremist. "Those who were involved in deciding how the Canadian government should proceed had asked for a complete briefing on matters related to the division," O'Connor noted early in his report. "They should have received one."

That Zaccardelli survived that particular transgression is testimony to his move to the face of public criticism. This is, after all, a case of executive misdeeds that he bows. And deliberate or not, it speaks to his fitness to lead the organization. It also goes to the bottom of the case. More than a mere public chief, the RCMP commissioner holds the honour of deputy minister, meaning he and his office are entrusted to provide complete and honest advice to the government

of the day. By the strictest standard, he is honour-bound to resign.

Still, as other events bumped him off the front pages this week, it looked as if Zaccardelli was safe. The public safety minister, Steven Harper, voiced support for the top police officer, and the commissioner managed to deflect questions about the awkward nature of the PCO briefing. "We were asked to produce the timeline within 24 hours," he said as the committee hearing wound down. "It was literally impossible for us to comply wholly with that request." Even opposition MPs seemed reluctant to raise it for the bill. In any case, the former Liberal justice minister, grumbled that the commissioner and his staff had more than a year to get their facts straight. Zaccardelli told the committee that he personally reviewed the file shortly after Arar was sent to Syria.

CANADIANS DON'T EXPECT RESIGNATIONS BASED ON HONOUR, ONE CRITIC SAYS

and determined that Arar had been "mischaracterized." Mr. Coler stopped short of demanding Zaccardelli's badge. "The government should determine from the public record and the inquiry whether they believe he should resign," he concluded. "Mr. Zaccardelli should determine from the same record what is the appropriate action and whether to resign."

A disapprover, perhaps, for those who'd stand blood in the water. But for Marcum Marceau, a political scientist at McGill University who has studied attitudes toward scandals and ethical breaches, Zaccardelli's survival is one more reminder of the limited appetite for accountability in Canadian public life. "Gangster things are rare in this country," he notes. "But still are resignations based on honour." "What Canadians believe is that people in positions of authority may not be held accountable for the details of a scandal," Marceau explains, "but that they have to be answerable for them." Zaccardelli has done just that, answering, she notes, however weak some of his responses.

The age of the person involved, and the nature of his position, also figure large in such cases. As a lifelong police officer with a remarkable 36 years under his belt, the 58-year-old Zaccardelli is in no position to admit his mistakes and resign in the fashion of a disgraced politician: don't rub salt into his reputation. "He's got nowhere to go,"



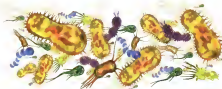
ZACCARDELLI did not accept the Arar inquiry's findings, then began to quibble.

Marceau points out. "He's in the top job in his field. He's got everything to lose and nothing to gain in taking responsibility for the RCMP's mistakes."

So now he's hanging on for all he's worth. While newspapers across the country were still calling for his resignation this week, Zaccardelli dropped the subject of resigning once or so things right, apparently with the government's backing. He was unsmiling, too, by comments that most of the RCMP personnel involved in Arar's case had been disciplined (indeed some on the RCMP side were promoted). Most of the problems that led to Arar's ordeal, he said, have been corrected. For Craig Roberts, a law professor at



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B.C. takes on Big Tobacco

The U.S. got billions, and B.C. wants in. But how will it use the money?

BY KEN MAGDOREN • That Marlboro Man is one busy cowboy. From Alaska to Texas, he and other iconic American cigarette brands are helping state governments build bridges, fill potholes and balance budgets. Since 1995, U.S. tobacco manufacturers have shovelled all 50 states with cash, as part of a series of out-of-court settlements worth about US\$290 billion over 25 years. In exchange, the states can't sue tobacco firms again to recover health care costs. With some of that cash earmarked for smokers to keep young people from smoking, the settlements were heralded as a major advance in weaning Americans off tobacco. Ten

eight years later, most states are spending their windfall on everything, but youth anti-smoking programs. And now the sort of major money—enough to run the Canadian government for more than a year—has British Columbia leading a band of provinces on a judicial legal quest to extract billions from Big Tobacco. But to what end?

The U.S. experience offers both a wealth of information and a cautionary tale as B.C. moves closer to becoming the first province to sue Big Tobacco. In 1994, Minnesota was the first state to sue six cigarette and cigarette filter manufacturers. Its claims were similar to those used by B.C.—that the industry misled the public about the health risks of smoking, that it marketed to children, and that it suppressed damaging medical research. Minnesota, with a slightly larger population than B.C., initially sought US\$13 billion to recover health costs. Instead, with the case about to reach the jury in 1998, the industry settled for US\$6.1 billion. It also agreed to a national ban on tobacco brand advertising, and on payments for using celebrities in movies. Three other states soon signed similar settlements. The industry, under siege, signed a Master Settlement Agreement valuing US\$180 billion among the remaining 46 states.

The settlement, negotiated by former state attorney general Robert "Skip" Humphrey, set aside eight per cent of the money for an

endowment to reduce youth smoking. Just three years later, the fund—credited with diverting some 14,000 young people from smoking—was absorbed by a new state administration facing a fiscal crisis. Humphrey called the elimination of the endowment a victory for tobacco companies, and a "betrayal" of the purpose of the lawsuit. Jeanne Wiegman, president of the Association for Non-smokers-Minnesota, says there were similar experiences across the land. "In some states they enthusiastically embraced prevention programs, and then they went away,"

larger and more policy analysis for the Canadian Cancer Society. "The potential damages that could be recovered by B.C. and other provinces is measured by possibly tens of billions of dollars." Meanwhile, Nova Brunswick, New South Wales and Newfoundland and Labrador have passed laws similar to B.C.'s Tobacco Damages and Health Care Costs Recovery Act. Others are expected to follow if B.C. goes to court.

Canadian manufacturers say governments already extracted damages through heavy taxes—about \$4.60 billion over the next 25 years by one industry estimate. The U.S. payout was a "business decision" and not an admission of guilt, Robert Benson, then head of Imperial Tobacco Canada, testified in 1995 before a Newfoundland legislative committee. Don't expect a quick cash settlement in Canada, Benson said—"It will not happen." He called the U.S. settlements a "shameful" cash grab by lawyers, who pocketed some US\$12 billion in fees, and by governments. "The vast majority of funds," he said, "never found themselves anywhere near the issues surrounding public

use or health care." It isn't clear if B.C. is any more likely to spend settlement money on stopping the next generation of smokers. Cunningham of the case or society says the intent of the lawsuit are prevention, compensation for health costs, and to exact a measure of justice and deterrence. As for preventing future problems, he said the industry hopes "one outcome would be more resources to prevent kids from starting, and to help smokers quit" (see Wiegman, speaking from experience, says hope doesn't count for much). Money critics in own set of savings, and politicians are far from immune. "It's not written into law," she says, "it ain't happening."



IN THE U.S., funds that were to be allocated for deterrence went up in smoke

the says. "In others, they never even bothered. They just say, 'Buy this money.'"

Perhaps the greatest legacy, Wiegman says, is Minnesota's public repository of millions of declassified pages of once secret tobacco company files. The B.C. government must, first filed in 1998, draw heavily on those and other industry records. Many are posted on its website of the case (www.healthservices.gov.bc.ca/pubs/infocentre/tobacco.html). And B.C.'s case got a significant boost last month, when the provincial appeal court ruled it has jurisdiction over foreign tobacco companies, which have a large stake in Canada. "The foreign parent companies have very deep pockets," says Rob Cunningham, an Ottawa-based



LIBERAL PARTY FUNDING MAY BE LOOKING UP

"They wait—the party waits—at the end of the day to look at the real story. This is our guy. He is our guy because we've been in the house. We looked at him this way and that, and we looked at his whole published record. We looked at everything about him. They are playing me up and shaking me up, down until the change is in the air." —Michael Ignatieff on the Liberal Party's next steps after "Super Weekend."



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WORLD



WHERE FRIENDS MEET: A scene at the Afghan-Pakistan border last March. The extreme tribal areas are of particular concern.

PROTESTING TOO MUCH

Musharraf says Pakistan doesn't help the Taliban. That's simply wrong.

BY MICHAEL PERDUE • Many Canadians were outraged last week when Pakistan's president, Gen. Pervez Musharraf, defended Canadian casualties in Afghanistan. "You suffer two dead and you cry and shoot all around the place that there are coffins," he told the CBC, addressing visiting Canadian military losses at the time by 34. "Well, we have had 500 coffins." However, it is not what Musharraf says, but what he does—or more accurately, doesn't do—that should arguably drive the greater wrath of Canadians.

More than 2,000 Canadian soldiers are currently serving in Afghanistan, where they have come under increasingly frequent attacks from Taliban fighters. Afghan President Hamid Karzai accuses Pakistan of allowing the Taliban to shelter and regroup in Pakistan before launching fresh attacks in Afghanistan. Musharraf hotly denies these allegations and claims his country is leading the war against the Taliban and related extremists. Despite recent efforts by Pres-

ident George W. Bush to reconcile the two leaders, both of these men remain at odds on the whole truth.

According to Robert Temple, Asia program director for the International Crisis Group, which employs several analysts in Pakistan and has conducted extensive research in the country, Karzai's version of events is accurate, and Musharraf—as long as a Taliban-opponent—Temple says that in 2000, Musharraf decided he could not afford to appease the United States in its confrontation with the Taliban, and made a strategic decision to turn his back on the Taliban—a move essentially confirmed by him in his new autobiography.

But Musharraf and other Pakistan military leaders, Temple says, "also believed that the United States would lose interest in Afghanistan and would eventually go on to other things, and they wanted to maintain a foothold in what they were or less regard as a vital issue. They've done that through the Taliban. And while Musharraf tries to maintain deniability, the reality is you've got Taliban commanders living in Quetta. Quetta is a garrison town. It has a huge military presence. Therefore that they could be there with

out the blessing of the Pakistani military is just absurd."

This assessment got support last week when a paper written by a researcher at the British Ministry of Defence was leaked, publishing the soldier's view that Pakistan's intelligence services, the ISI, has indirectly helped the Taliban by backing religious parties, and recommended that it be disbanded. British Prime Minister Tony Blair quickly moved to assure Musharraf that the leaked paper did not reflect the views of the British government. Both President Bush and Canadian Prime Minister Stephen Harper have been similarly oscillatory toward Pakistan, calling the country a key ally in the fight against terrorism.

"Their view is that Musharraf is the indispensable man, and they don't want to put too much pressure on him," Temple says. "They've bought into the myth he likes to prison, that nobody can put pressure on him from outside because he's in this very vulnerable spot, and he's the only person who stands between the militants and the border. This is a major mistake." Temple argues that the greater threat to Musharraf's rule comes not from militants but from secular democrats.

Musharraf's defenders—and there are sev-

PHOTO COURTESY OF THE U.S. MARINE CORPS

MAGLAW'S OCT. 16 '04

end among American analysts—agree that the Taliban might find shelter in Pakistan, but they say this is despite the sincere efforts of Musharraf and the Pakistani military to deny it to them. “There is certainly some significant support for the Taliban on the Pakistan side of the border, in Waziristan particularly, and the Pakistan government hasn’t controlled it,” says Robert Iltis, a senior research fellow in geopolitics at King’s College London. “But this is not the same as my view as saying that the Pakistan government actively aids it and is supporting it in any way.”

Taliban activity in Pakistan is centered in a region known as the Federally Administered Tribal Areas, which border Afghanistan and are predominantly inhabited by Pakistanis, an ethnic group with extensive familial and tribal links to Pakistanis in Afghanistan. Most Taliban are also Pakistanis. The region has “some autonomous” status, with tribal laws in Pakistan and is largely controlled by tribal elders. It is a difficult place to visit, although this writer was



THE GENERAL: Ishtiaq Chaudhry, Pakistan's defense minister, with other officials in Afghanistan

them in 2000. My travel companion and I hired a gunman and a guide and drove west out of Peshawar. The village close to the Afghan border was full of temples, houses and makeshift weapons factories, where everything from assault rifles to one-shot pistols disguised as pens were peddled and the air constantly echoed with gunfire as products were tested.

The shops were likewise full of guns and drugs, although Islamic disapproval of alcohol was evident even among the smugglers. After displaying a block of hashish roughly the size of his head, one man swore that he had something even more shocking to show, and reached into a secret compartment hidden beneath a carpet to produce a bottle of whiskey. There was no evidence of Pakistani government authority in these villages—only sprawling walled compounds owned by local strongmen.

By all accounts tribes have charged. The Pak-

istan army has made successes into the tribal areas in the years since the 9/11 attacks but has suffered hundreds of casualties, but the government never established control over the region. According to Sergei Pichkhon, a political science professor at York University, Musharraf felt that an outright assault would antagonize the Pakistanis and jeopardize Pakistan's security by causing enemies along its western border. For a military-minded Musharraf, such a move would be political suicide. Instead, this summer, Pakistan signed a truce with pro-Taliban Pakistan “tribal leaders” in Waziristan. Pakistan promised to ease its military survey in the region if Pakistanis accurately labelled Pakistanis Taliban by some agreed-on list to attack Pakistanis soldiers or cross the border to attack coalition troops, including Canadians, in Afghanistan.

The deal might have prevented Mushar-

'WHILE MUSHARRAF TRIES TO MAINTAIN DENIABILITY, YOU'VE GOT TALIBAN COMMANDERS IN QUETTA'

raf's help from his face on the ground. American military commanders report that attacks on the Afghan side of the border have stopped to some extent, despite the alleged truce, and Canada lost more soldiers in September than in any previous month. According to Western tribal elders interviewed by the Sunday Telegraph newspaper, the Taliban's longtime commander Mullah Mohammad Omar personally encouraged the truce and asked tribal leaders in Waziristan to agree to it. “There is no reason why [the Taliban] shouldn't be celebrating, because they've essentially been given control of a fairly large area on the border and have been told that they're not going to be under any pressure from the Pakistanis military,” Tompkins says.

The balance of evidence suggests, therefore, that Pakistan, a country that receives millions of dollars worth of aid from Canada, has allowed sanctuary to exist for the same Taliban who are killing Canadian soldiers in Afghanistan. Canada's response has thus far been muted, at least in public. For five years, Western leaders have avoided pursuing pressure on Musharraf out of fear that Musharraf has only a tenuous hold on power and the alternatives to his rule in Pakistan would be worse. With Canadian soldiers dying because of Musharraf's inaction and compromises, now might be a good time to put that theory to the test. ■

ROACHES ON ICE

The U.S. military goes home, leaving Iceland fearing an infestation

BY NANCY MACDONALD • Tiny, toothed his long been a crucial part of U.S. military planning. American troops first arrived during the Second World War, and their numbers increased substantially during the Cold War to fully 10,000 on one post: “Iceland,” says Roger Beaumont, an expert on military history and a professor emeritus at Trent University, “was a chess piece on a complex board.” It was crucial that the U.S. have a base in the North Atlantic—partly for keeping watch for Soviet submarines that with the collapse of the Soviet threat, the U.S. presence in Iceland, as across Europe, began to decrease. This trend was reversed after 9/11, as Washington's focus shifted to counterterrorism. And so, on Sept. 30, the Stars and Stripes were lowered for the last time as the U.S. base in Keflavik, marking the end of 65 years of the American military on Icelandic soil.

It was largely a friendly coexistence. Sure, there were rumors among local leaders, who now number 300,000, of secretly deployed nuclear weapons. And there was the occasional civilian military flare-up, as part over servicemen mingling with Icelandic girls but for the most part, all was neighborly, although some Icelanders now worry that the departing Americans may have left an uglier legacy—the stain of a chemical epidemic.

Cockroaches are almost emblematic of Iceland—except as the U.S. base, where they arrived among supplies and soldiers' belongings. The military fungicide regularly, but it is now rumored that large numbers are scurrying around the recently emptied base. Authorities in nearby Reykjavik fear the bugs will spread, although experts say it's a stretch as a cockroach has the base abandoned, food sources will diminish and any cockroaches will be the military's problem. “They certainly cannot survive outside unheated buildings—cockroaches originally being a tropical species.” But who knows? Conventional wisdom holds that cockroaches are capable of surviving the great blizzards of the Cold War—global nuclear war. And what's an Icelandic winter compared to that? ■



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A FLOATING BODY. Its limbs bound, it pulled from the Tigris River in Baghdad

Bodies swept up in controversy

Unreported deaths lead to questions about the scale of Iraqi violence

BY ADRIAN S. KHAN • Ali is a collector of the dead. That's his job, or at least one of them. He is also a cook at a fatih house in Baghdad and a member of the Mahdi Army, a Shia militia loyal to the militant cleric Muqtada al-Sadr. As a collector, his monthly duty is to sweep up the carnage of a sectarian war spreading westward—see that Iraqi official and their American executives are trying desperately to develop—and quietly transport it to Iraq's main morgue, located in a heavily fortified Medical City in Baghdad's al-Kadhimiya neighbourhood, where all suspected deaths are taken.

Every three days, Ali says, he and other al-Sadr volunteers go to the Tigris river to pick up bodies. At a spot on the bank just downstream from the Arma bridge in central Baghdad, a swarm of soldiers gaily gather in the dead. "More and more are coming there," Ali says, "from north of Baghdad, from villages like Tikrit and Tikrit. Many have their hands tied, most are blindfolded." The method of execution varies. At Kadisiya, from the truck had led to the head to more machine and vicious (real) techniques involving power tools, electric cords and other such domestic instruments. "These are all Shia brothers and sisters murdered by Sunnis," says Ali, a Shia

man, a September report published by the United Nations Assistance Mission for Iraq put a grim picture of civilian deaths reached a record high for July and August with 6,600 civilians killed.

But, even these figures don't tell the whole story. For that, a visit to Medical City is in order. The Ministry of Health has instituted a strict policy for journalists, requiring them to seek permission before visiting the facility. Those allowed in get only a truly sanitized tour, more often than not reporters are barred from entering. But at the gate, guards who have worked at the facility tell a chilling tale. "Last year, I saw maybe 1,000 bodies a month coming into the morgue," says one man who, fearing for his life, requested his name not be published. "Now we're getting nearly 1,000 a week."

Ali, he says, are victims of sectarian violence. Both Sunnis and Shias, but the officials at the morgue inside Medical City will not tell you that. "The officials don't want us talking to the media," says another guard, also requesting anonymity. "I've heard from people that most of the deaths are because of terrorism, but I've also seen the bodies myself and I can tell you that most of them were executed by death squads."

While he describes the bodies, a damp truck pulls out of the facility. The guards open the gate, holding back a rush of people from all over central Iraq hoping to get in to look for loved ones. As the truck passes, the crowd of disconsolate families fills the air. "That's just the clothes from bodies pulled from the Tigris over the past few days," says the first guard. "The trucks come and go regularly." The

"LAST YEAR, I SAW MAYBE 1,000 BODIES A MONTH. NOW WE'RE GETTING NEARLY 1,000 A WEEK."

starch is overwhelming. People cover their noses and mouths with dirty. "We can't see them," he says, pointing back at the bodies. "They're all dead." Ali simply shrugs. "They're dead, the smell," he says, putting ground beef onto skewers for the non-cannibalism in a city in which people are too often to leave their homes. But tomorrow, he will be going back to the Tigris to pick up more bodies. That job, at least in Baghdad, has a future. ■

CHINA: SPORTS COMPETITION PROVES A GRAY
China's Ethnic Minority Games, celebrating unique sports such as blowgun darts, turned out badly. A massive brawl broke out over the results of a wrestling match between the Hui and Zhuang, and the city of Weishan ended up with the heaviest beating. The women's dragon boat race turned a golden affair toward complaints of big athletes with Adidas' apples. Refs found several competitors were men in wigs.



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WORKER'S PARADE: Alberta's Sprucehead Millworkers paid a prosperity bonus to staff, and held its annual meeting in a Heliose resort.

Canada's top 100 employers



Competition to find and keep talented staff has never been more intense. These are the employers who know what it takes to get the hiring edge.

BY STEVE MAICH

There was a time when all it took to be considered a good employer was to provide jobs for a local people. Offer competitive wages, basic benefits, make money and keep growing—that's all there was to it. Not anymore.

With Canada in the midst of its biggest job boom in more than a generation, millions of workers find themselves asked to choose between career paths. Today's job hunter isn't just looking for a steady paycheck but a constant challenge, and a career that's going to stretch him away from the office. And just because you're able to attract talented people, it's no guarantee you'll be able to hold on to them.

It's all order for executives, who must now keep their employees as happy as their customers. But hundreds of employees are growing themselves worthy of the challenge, and this year's compilation of Canada's Top 100 Employers, by Mediacorp, provides important insights into how to create the kind of workplaces people brag about.

This year, more than 1,500 employers shared of the application process, and author Richard Yoncos and his team have spent the past year combing through thousands of pages of material to identify the best of the best. The result is the most exhaustive analysis of human resources trends in the country—not a ranking,

but a compendium of best practices across every sector of the economy, both public and private. Unlike other surveys, the Mediacorp's Mediacorp Top 100 relies on a single set of criteria, independent analysis and hard data rather than purely subjective judgments calls and surveys. Mediacorp isn't a consultancy, but a publishing company, and its full report of the Top 100 companies to work for in Canada will hit bookstores again.

This is the sixth year we've printed on this study, and much has changed over that time. For example, when the first survey led off at the end of the dot-com boom, the federal government had only recently extended maternity leave benefits for a full year, and hardly any employers were offering top-up payments to ease the financial burden on new parents. This year, two thirds of the companies in the Top 100 offer maternity top-up, and a few, such as the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, supplement maternity benefits to 93 per cent of the salary for the full year of a new mom's leave. And while most payments for new hires were previously offered of just a few years ago, 26 of this year's top employers offer parental leave payments.

It's often the smaller employers leading the way. Toronto-based i Love Rewards Inc. is a consulting company with just 25 employees. Recently, management was looking for a way to reassign staff, and decided to add two weeks to everyone's vacation entitlement. Now hires now get four weeks of holiday time to start, and longer-serving staff have been given as much as six weeks off per year. "This was a small company that said, 'What can we do to be a better employer?'" Yoncos says. "That's courage, to try something that a lot of people wouldn't."

But there may be no better example of this co-operative spirit than Sprucehead Millworkers' Paradise. Alberta's Sprucehead Millworkers paid a prosperity bonus to staff, and held its annual meeting in a Heliose resort.

work, a small maker of wooden toys work and moldings in Adeline, Alta. Back in 1993, Sprucehead's main plant burned to the ground. Naturally, workers with mortgages on pay-until-a-school thought they'd just been hit with a financial catastrophe. But rather than laying off his 45 staff, owner Ben Sawatzky gathered them together and put them to work rebuilding the facility. About 100 days after the fire, the 90,000-sq.-foot facility was up and operational again. Over the ensuing years Sawatzky provided low-cost loans to allow workers to buy a 30 per cent stake in the business. Every day, Sawatzky gives workers a production target, and if he's fulfilled in less than eight hours, they are free to go home with full pay as reward for a good day's work. The business is thriving, having expanded to almost 150 staff and more than 170 million in annual sales. Last year, Sawatzky paid a prosperity bonus to all staff—\$1,000 for every year of service—and flew the whole company to Mexico for an annual meeting.

Now everybody can work for a boss like Ben Sawatzky, but it's the attitude that permeates his operation that we hope to highlight and encourage by publishing the Top 100 list each year. Smart businesses will tell you that in the new economy, attracting and retaining good staff is the most fundamental competitive advantage any enterprise can hope to have. But saying that is one thing, actually doing it is quite another.

If the economists and demographers are right, Canada's supply of skilled labour is only going to get tighter. If you run a business, this listing provides a glimpse of the future of what it takes to be considered a great employer. For workers, that's what's out there if you work for the right company, and if you see something here that you don't get, maybe it's time you asked, "why not?" ■



If you're on time and breathing, you're hired

The biggest labour boom in 50 years has made job anxiety a thing of the past
BY CHARLIE GELAIN

Tales of employer desperation are many and varied these days, especially in the otherwise healthy Alberta labour market. But few cases illustrate this as acutely as well as that of Gary Reber, an amiable ex-con who now happily swings a hammer as a downtown Edmonton construction site. Two years ago, Reber was on the upbilled side of a 6½-year prison sentence—the outcome of a disastrous, if uncharacteristic, 2003 altercation with a couple of police officers. A messy manager with a few addition problems, he had been partying hard with buddies in his hometown of Leduc, Alta., and when the RCMP pulled them over, he says, he “freaked.” There was a melee, during which Reber overpowered the cop who was holding him. If that wasn’t

bad enough, he then hogged into the empty streets, drove to a garage and punched the gas. The car lurched forward, severely injuring one of the officers.

By the time he reached jail, Reber was a wreck. His wife had left him, he’d lost his kids, and he once drove over to the federal warden’s office. “It was awful,” he says solemnly, “and I deserved everything I got.” But the modern economy is all about redemption, and Reber’s redemption came in the form of a unique initiative co-funded by an Edmonton construction company that could only have happened in a red-hot economy.

Under the program, prisoners work at a federal institution near Red Deer would receive three months of training, while Clark Builders, a construction company desperate for workers on job sites across Western Canada, gets to recruit from what is, quite literally, a captive labour pool. It sounded like a long shot, but proof that Clark’s gamble paid off came two days for work each morning at the front of a high-rise project on Edmonton’s north side.

REDEEMED Gary Reber was recruited to his Edmonton construction job from prison.

After eight months on the job, Reber is eager to show his own crew, training to become a crane operator, and pulling down as respectable \$18 an hour. “With overtime and everything else, I figure I’m making about \$4,000 a month,” he says, grinning. “That’s not bad for a guy who just got out of jail.”

Not bad at all. And without diminishing Clark’s social progressiveness, there’s more at work here than altruistic outreach. For more than a generation, after all, the idea of employers seeking out, training and hiring workers was crucial for social engineers aiming to keep the unemployed from becoming a danger to society. But when the idea of employers seeking out, training and hiring workers was crucial for social engineers aiming to keep the unemployed from becoming a danger to society. But when the idea of employers seeking out, training and hiring workers was crucial for social engineers aiming to keep the unemployed from becoming a danger to society.



Brad keeps the lights on

Name: Brad Krawchuk **Title:** Mechanical Engineer (PEng) **Number of years at EPCOR:** 5

Recent Accomplishments: Completed two marathons; represented EPCOR in Corporate Challenge triathlon.

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Brad is one of 2,600 employees who built EPCOR into a trusted provider of power and water for more than 100 years. EPCOR is proud to have been named one of Canada's Top 100 Employers seven years in a row and one of Alberta's Top 20 Employers. See www.epcor.ca for more information.



EPCOR



Time for the interview

It is, without stretching the point, the best of times—a happy confluence of turning birth rates, mass retirement and sustained economic growth. According to a report produced last month by the TD Financial Group, the number of health care and social service jobs has risen by nearly 250,000 in the last six years, the construction industry has hired 250,000, the education sector added 175,000. And while short-term demand may be subject to capriciousness—such as a softening U.S. economy—none is predicting a recession in the short or long. “Alberta is the canary in the mine,” says Linda Dushary, a professor at Carleton University’s Spence School of Business and one of the country’s leading experts on labour market trends. “We’ve got a swelling supply of youth because of the revolution in fertility. The birth rate hasn’t been at replacement level since the 1960s, and now few get Canadians to reproduce like rabbits—which is not going to happen—it won’t be enough. People don’t take a full-time job now until they’re 25.”

So sharp are the trend lines that one major accounting firm, Watson Wyatt Worldwide, predicts a labour shortage in Canada of one million by 2016, and three million by 2026. Maintaining the country’s historical growth in living standard of 1.81 per cent annually will require raising productivity and opening the doors to far more immigrants. “The failure to adequately resolve this issue would have profound socio-economic consequences,” Wyer cautions in a recent report. “When caution is a recent re-



THE MILL: Today's grads have to be wooed

that workers shouldn't expect to spend a full career with an employer. “To me, it's my own story,” says Nancy Mondy, manager of recruitment for TD's business lending and insurance units. “I've been with TD 19 years and I'm on my 13th job. I'm getting the opportunity to be challenged, to learn and grow and develop within an organization.”

Of course, this assumes they've got a real choice. The situation to begin with, which is hardly a given. Baby boomers occupying senior HR positions face the unenviable task of crowding inside the mind of the average 20-year-old. And while basket loads of ink have been spilled on the moral priorities of the so-called Generation Y, the efforts thus far suggest something less than a full comprehension. Demographic profiles of today's job candidates describe the values that sound a lot like those of postwar boomers going back to the dawn of civilization (fickle? arrogant? trendy? prone to laziness?). At the same time, recruitment campaigns can be widely off the mark, one youngster recently being discarded by the model gone 1960s feature a row of moustaches in silhouette under the slogan, “Winning Rock Stars.” Better, perhaps, than “Winning Your Game.” Why go to all this trouble? Underground,” but you can practically hear the



JOB SHOPPING: A record 240 employers attended this year's work fair in Waterloo, Ont.

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trackers among the under-graduates they're trying to hire.

So the familiar anxiety of the job hunt has been turned on its head over the past few years, leaving the companies to sweat. And nowhere is that desperation more visible than at the annual career fairs held in the quadrangle of colleges and universities around Waterloo, Ont.—a gathering where, in past decades, representatives might have spent their time explaining why they couldn't hire you. This year, a record 340 international employers have flocked to the IBM Park area, spreading out in a cavernous convention hall and into an adjoining gymnasium for a shot at the 3,000-odd undergrads expected to drift past the booths. Both rooms are filled with a ruck of casual and flow-of-point displays and tables cluttered with brochures and glossy prospectuses to catch the gaze of sleep-deprived college seniors. Watson Business is handing out leaves of Wonder Bread. Intel and Xerox is giving away pepperoni pizza.

Some employers use the same hand-drawn techniques as those to make their work seem compelling. The Canadian Border Services Agency display features a small crowd of mannequins, brass knuckles and drug paraphernalia, steered from glacial-moving law files. Nothing about standing for hours in a freezing, brightly lit hall. One student reports that her boyfriend at the Ontario Racing Commission asked if he was "increased in mass" at the office in hours. "At the other end of the spectrum is the Canadian Security Intelligence Agency, whose booth could easily be a hall of mirrors. The spy agency's handouts explain that candidates must pass, in order: an application review, an information session, a suitability interview, a psychological assessment, a second language assessment, a national assessment panel, a security clearance, an executive committee interview and a final assessment. If you get through it all without throwing up your hands, congratulations, you can be a spook.

The more that interviewers say, however, seems above the patches for easy work. One of the GE Canada booth (one of the truly busy ones) stands Rebecca Baxter, a 23-year-old from Bradford, Ont., who pretty much embodies the difficulties Canadian firms face trying to land top-tier talent. A self-declared "nerd" heading for a combined degree in science and business from the University of Waterloo, she recently won a provincial award for her co-op work as a securities trader. She has taken co-op offers



WE'VE GOT A dwindling supply of youth

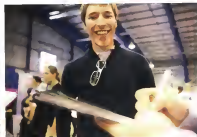
rooms so far abroad in Australia, and this winter she will represent Canadian students at a global management conference in Hong Kong. Baxter already has interest from IBM and the drug maker Agilent, two places where the took co-op assignments, and she's getting more responses from the multinational present at this fair, like GE. "I don't want to join anything," she says, smiling. "But I think my prospects are pretty good."

The world, in short, is Baxter's employer. She is clearly poised for a big payoff as graduation. But the path to her heart is not entirely paved with gold. While she's clearly enjoying the competition for her attention, what Baxter really wants is a single, long-term employer with whom she can grow. "I want opportunity to change and take more responsibility," she says. "I really want to im-

prove a business and increase its value, and I'd like acknowledgement and recognition." It's a theme echoed throughout the day by other members of her formidable cohort. Jeff Noble, a 22-year-old computer science from the University of Guelph, wants a job where the atmosphere is light but the progression plan is clear. "It's about what they can offer to develop me, the projects I'll be working on." Miss Rafterman, a fourth-year business student from Guelph's small campus in Hamilton, Ont., doubts the idea of jumping from firm to firm. "I consider myself a loyal person to a company," she says. "As long as I'm with an employer that up-precimates me, why would I want to change?"

These sentiments are enlightening, because they run counter to received wisdom about Generation Y—a crowd of youngsters supposedly allergic to workplace commitment because they are spoiled from watching their parents "downsize" during the '80s and '90s. All true, says Karl Moore, a professor at McGill University's faculty of management. "But these young people are logically pragmatic. It's based on what they've experienced," he says.

FREE PEPPERONI for any willing applicant



THE IDEA of free pizza and other perks used to cause a stir among Gen Yers

"Their common reaction to this is, hey, when I go to work, and when I have a family, I'm not going to do this like 'With the strength of their numbers, Moore adds, they can demand the respect and flexibility from a boss their parents never could.

The implications of this are becoming for

anyone entering the workplace over the next decade or so. Of their own free will, employees are demanding conditions workers previously extracted only through strikes or painful negotiations: job security, educational upgrading, maternity top-up, priority leave, sabbaticals, flexible hours. "There's a whole new

school of thought among employees," says Diane Wiesenthal, president of the Canadian Council of Human Resources Associations. "You don't need to have people sitting at your desk, writing away the hours. As long as you can deliver the results we expect, we're prepared to be flexible on the other stuff."

The question now is how long the student job will last. Not every employer can offer a runway to wealth and power. Not every job is stimulating. "That," says Moore, "is why they quit a work." Some economists figure the labour market will self-correct, slowing not only the exorbitant demand for high-powered in Alberta, for example, construction companies and oil sands developers have seen projects slowed down by depressing wages and lack of labour. But the conditions underlying these localized over-economies, stagnation and economic growth—see no reason to prevail for decades to come, with the potential to lift the fortunes of Canadians across the country. "If you're willing to move, you can find work," says John DeGuzman, manager of student placement at Lakeshore University in Thunder Bay, Ont.

And if you're not, well, the work you just find you at your college, in your high school, in your home. Even, it turns out, in a folder at home.

ONE PAMPHLET FROM NICKEL GIANT INCO FEATURES MINERS IN SILHOUETTE UNDER THE SLOGAN 'WANTED: ROCK STARS'



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RAISE HIGH THOSE PAY SCALES, CARPENTERS

Forget medical school. The new big-money glamour jobs are in the skilled trades.

BY CATYR GORGE • Mike Holmes is a blue collar millionaire. He wears a dusty brown overall and a diamond earring in his left ear to work. He only went to high school, but says he knows as much as anybody in the construction industry. "I can wire your house, build your house, design your house, plan it; I can pretty well do anything," says the 46-year-old divorced father of three. And that's why he's not only rich, but famous. His renovation show, *Holmes on Homes*, which began in 2005, is now 42 times a week on Canadian television, besides airing in the U.S., U.K., Australia, New Zealand and South Africa. There are Holmes DVDs and apparel, a weekly newspaper column, an upcoming book, and the promo for a "Mighty Mike Holmes" cartoon for kids. A recent appearance on *The Ellen DeGeneres Show* to talk about home renovation with his son wearing on stage to the song *Sailor* as a Rock and ended with DeGeneres cooing, "Will you marry me?"

Holmes, in other words, represents the reincarnation of the skilled tradesperson as a rare superhero, one who possesses all the knowledge and power to fix, in place or in

person, the most common people can only already fix broken. The talent is skilled trades people—who make up the transportation, construction, service and manufacturing sectors in Canada—sectors each demand that those workers are worthy of the respect, the skills and salaries that are reserved only for university educated, well-educated professionals, like doctors and lawyers. "If a doctor is at a party, everyone will go up to them [and say] 'I've got a problem with my shoulder'."

Lawyer, sure thing, they ask legal advice," says Holmes. "Gas a party and have my contractors on site, and then, they're worried."

This cultural shift has many observers pronouncing skilled trades the best career path for Canadian youth, complaining what to do after high school—and challenging the popular perception that university is the only way to a prosperous future. "This is a golden opportunity to get kids engaged in the industry. Now is the time to do it," says George Grizzatos, executive director of the Construction Sector Council. Across the country, demand for skilled tradespeople is soaring. British Columbia needs workers to build the



HOLMES: "Go to a party. If a construction's there, he's loved."

proportion for the Vancouver 2010 Winter Olympics. Alberta needs workers for the oil sands. Ontario and Quebec need workers for housing and commercial real estate construction. Highway and public facility improvements are back on politicians' agendas. "Crane operators, construction managers, heavy equipment operators, brick layers, supervisors, elevator constructors, carpenters, painters, decorators and tile setters are occupations [that] will be faced with severe personnel going forward," says Grizzatos. And that's the short list. According to the Construction Board of Canada, the country will lack about one million workers by 2020, especially those in the building, manufacturing and service trades.



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MIKE HOLMES REPRESENTS THE REINCARNATION OF THE TRADESPERSON AS A RARE BREED OF SUPERHERO



The shortage, says Prince-Bernard, is not president of the conference board, is due to a few conflicting realities. For starters, baby boomers in the trades are set to retire, the percentage of workers 55 or older is higher in the skilled trades than in all other work force categories combined, according to Statistics Canada data cited in a recent report by the Canadian Council on Learning. Meanwhile, immigration policies today emphasize higher education more than in the past, when many immigrants with trade experience filled the spots. Plus, young people have less

at youth ages 15 to 17, which is a good measure of the Canadian Apprenticeship Forum and Skills Canada. "There are many young people for whom a drink is death, who want to be out and using both their hands and their head," she says, adding that they find satisfaction in making ideas come to life. "It's good to be able to see the work that you've done," says Mike Holmes Jr., who at 17 has just passed his father's construction crew fall line. "It's a lot more interesting than digging holes every day." And then there's the opportunity for tradespeople to start

their own business, become supervisors or take thinktanks, which are generally recognized internationally across the country as prospects alive. "It's not just a job. It's a career," says Holmes.

Unfortunately, not everyone shares such positive views. According to a series of studies conducted over the last two years by Ipsos Reid on behalf of the Skilled Trades campaign, the majority of Canadian youth say they believe skilled trades are "just jobs," not careers, and that tradespeople are not respected in society or creative thinkers. Instead, the popular belief is that trade work involves a lot of physical labour, and isn't fun or interesting. Cook says many people feel that "skilled trades are for dumbies" and are "dirty, dangerous jobs." Parents, youth, educators and guidance counsellors have a pushback anxiety as the first choice for students after high school.

As it's true, says Herb O'Brien, senior analyst at the Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada, that "over the last 15 years, the most rapid growth is in jobs that require university education."

That perspective has led governments to favour universities over colleges or vocational schools when it comes to funding, says John Tibbels, president of Conestoga College in Kitchener, Ont., which has opened a Skilled Trades Centre of Excellence at its Waterloo, Ont., campus. "If you look at the resources and labs that universities have as opposed to the kind of facilities available for trades, it's like chalk and cheese."

And for those students who do pursue trades, employers put up a roadblock: there is a shortage of apprenticeships, which are

critical for students who must acquire work experience to receive certification. A study by the Apprenticeship Forum shows that only 20 per cent of employers hire apprentices for four of working time or more as an inexperienced worker. In fact, for each dollar invested in an apprentice, employers actually receive a net return of 38 cents. Recognizing that, the federal government announced in its 2006 budget a tax credit for employers who hire apprentices.

"We're starting to get the message across," says Aden-son, who believes that for a long time trades have been unfairly discounted compared to "knowledge economy" occupations. "We've fallen in love with techies, that's not the economy," whereas construction, mining, forestry, fulfills the old economy. "But the two economies are not mutually exclusive, because tradespeople are often integral to creating new infrastructure, be it, say, the

provision of the Canadian Council on Learning, Paul Caplan, echoes that "the issue of skilled workers, and our ability to supply the demand, is going to be the key to the knowledge economy."

For his part, Holmes, who learned his skills from his father, has just set up a charitable organization to offer scholarships and bursaries for youth seeking trades. "I want them to learn the business. This is the future of the future," he says. As for his own son, Holmes says, "I could not be happier that my son is following me. I get to teach him everything I know. And he's learning." In fact, to work with his father someday, Holmes Jr. has a chance to teach him Grade 12. But he's not worried. "I'm learning a lot more here," he says. ■

DEMAND IS SUCH THAT CANADA WILL LACK ALMOST A MILLION WORKERS BY 2020—AN OPPORTUNITY FOR SOME

monthly opted for university education and professional occupations. The consequence: "Compensation will have to pay more to attract people. And when you pay more you are sending a signal to the labour market [not get into this business]," says Bernhardt.

And that's exactly what's happening. "When supply and demand line, that drives wages up," says Michael Addison, president of the Canadian Construction Association. Way up, in fact. Many tradespeople earn around \$30 an hour according to data posted on various construction sites. "But in a regular hotel, those wages can be much higher," says Gitzels, and many tradespeople work overtime and enjoy premium employee benefits packages. A heavy-duty mechanic in Port Melbourne can earn \$44 hourly, a contractor in Toronto can earn \$200,000 annually. "It's far easier that way," says you have your own business, and you're willing to put in time in parts of the country that are less than you, you can embrace change," Gitzels adds.

Holmes' own construction crew can average 20 people of young people who earn around \$1,000 a week. The incentives to join trades abound. "Not only will you make money doing this, but you can fix your own home," says Holmes. Recently five per cent of home owners hire professionals to do renovations, according to the Canada Mortgage and Housing Corp., and the average project costs approximately \$15,000. Over the next decade, predicts Holmes, repair will increase as people renovate the cookie-cutter houses popular now. And the work will pick up again, he adds, as new markets are created to make homes more environmentally friendly, energy efficient and resistant to mould and other contaminants. "It's something that will benefit you forever," he says.

More young people are choosing skilled trades with over 60 jobs because of the opportunity to be active and outdoors, adds Beverly Cook, project manager for the Skilled Trades promotional campaign aimed at youth ages 15 to 17, which is a good measure of the Canadian Apprenticeship Forum and Skills Canada. "There are many young people for whom a drink is death, who want to be out and using both their hands and their head," she says, adding that they find satisfaction in making ideas come to life. "It's good to be able to see the work that you've done," says Mike Holmes Jr., who at 17 has just passed his father's construction crew fall line. "It's a lot more interesting than digging holes every day." And then there's the opportunity for tradespeople to start



KA-CHENG: A Toronto contractor can make \$200K a year

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PHOTOGRAPH BY TERRY LEBLANC



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WORK IT BABY

Today's office drone is part manager, part hairdresser, part celeb

BY BARBARA BIGHTON • Work was once defined by plumb lines and railroading, faceless guys who fixed things and made things in what sociologists call the "mechanic activities." No more. New work is "changeable," as guests at Oxford are studying out of London, England, by Stephen Overell. According to "The design Trades: The Inevitable Jobs of the Early 21st Century," modern workers spend their time thinking for a living. Ideas, another word, are the new pipe wrenches. That's not to say we all spend our time thinking about big, lofty things. Modern work is driven by two impulses: presentation and organization, which reflect a society dominated to its fingertips by images above all else. Overell defines four new icons of this new workplace: hairdressers, celebrities, management consultants and managers. They work in paradigm trades, or jobs that represent the key themes and preoccupations of the modern world of work at large.

The man who has come up with all this is an *Financial Times* journalist. Overell's old boss, laborer, was based in a country down the road in the U.K. At 36, he now works for a think tank called the Work Foundation, whose job it is to supply businesses with ever-changing ways of looking at the way we work. And although he devotes a lot of attention to hairdressers and celebrities, Overell's study is a serious look at the evolution of making a living, jam-packed with statistics, philosophy and sociology, all dating back to the 1950s and leading up to one conclusion: Work is no longer about labor; its very nature has changed forever.

Fifty years ago, Overell says, a single person worked in a factory, or an ad agency, or sold breadstuffs to a doctor. There was usually a tangible product. Even into the 1970s, he says, "You could point at what you did; you could look at it and touch it." By the time the dot-com boom hit in the 1990s, value moved to intangibles, like ideas, which could be used over and over without ever being exhausted. Then came a move to networking and free-lancing. Creative thinkers such as German sociologist Ulrich Beck warned that the new social order was about to disintegrate. Overell quotes this passage from Beck's book, *The Inevitable World of Work*: "Everything that is most sacred to people—prosperity, social position, personality, meaning in life, democ-

acy [and] political cohesion" depends on "participation in paid employment." "The so-called end of work was a big theme. This study has no big themes," Overell says. "I am trying to boil it down and personalize it, distill the future in symbols, terms."

Hairdressers may seem to add symbol, but any woman who is transformed every six weeks by a virtual hair salon knows how valuable they are. Overell shows hairdressers, and their cousins in the aesthetic, makeup and personal trainers, because, to him, they are the new face of manual work. Instead of making things like cabinets out of wood, they mould, smooth and personal people into shape. They "apologize a society transformed by the pursuit of physical excellence," he writes. "The rise of their craft is a reflection of the prioritization of appearance, of presentation, of the power of identity, of the power of lifestyle." Hairdressers are also the new shopkeepers, he adds—they are glad friends.

Celebrities invite even more eye-rolling. "Has celebrityism not only a feature of modern life," he says. "They are a force and there are aspects of what they do all day that say a lot about what we do all day—we are all becoming our work to some extent." Celebrities are always their own brand; they don't even turn themselves off. So if someone kills, the celebrities are now their jobs, whatever happened to their balance still tasted in women magazines? Overell laughs. It's given, he says. To succeed, today's workers need to be reasonably, consistently ambivalent. "Total work" is a dystopia of the times. In England, he says, that means putting in a 12-hour day and then downing earnings with your peers like movie stars; the modern worker is always their office self.

Management consultants are iconic for a different reason: they are the archetypal level-edge workers, the herd guys who stand for the love of change in insolent companies. "Organizations reorganize; reorganize themselves all the time," Overell says. "What has brought them to this point? Competitive pressure, the usual explanation. But even industries with monopolies have changing." Management consultants have the added edge of being



HOPE SCOTCH Like movie stars, workers are always their own brand, even at home.

mysterious—the power of the outsider. As for managers, they demonstrate society's love for organization. They place themselves at the center of a vast social network and their people skills are more important than any technical expertise they may have. But their biggest task, says Overell, is effortlessness. If this study seems to point to the viciousness of workaday lives, Overell is the first to agree. "There is a feeling that ideology is gone," he says. "Heartlessness rules. And yet, one thing has stayed the same: Just like those drones with lunch pails, most people today say they like their jobs. At the end of the day, according to Overell, "it is very important for people to feel they have done something worthwhile." Even if they can't touch it. ■



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**EMPLOYEE
of the
WEEK**

ROTIIOUS, BEARDED CORPORAL IS REINSTATED

Non-Lance Cpl. Billy Windsor has been reinstated after a demotion in June. Windsor went berserk during the 1st Battalion Welsh parade for Queen Elizabeth's birthday. He was accused of refusing to stay in line, and at one point head-butting the drummer. Windsor is the regiment's mascot and was once member of a band called by Queen Victoria. Sold Cpl. Simon Clarke, "Billy had had all manner to reflect on his behaviour."

BITTER BREW

A NEW BOOK BY THE CO-FOUNDER OF TIM HORTONS LAYS BARE THE GREED AND BETRAYAL BEHIND THE BUILDING OF A NATIONAL ICON

BY STEVE MAJOR • There are no known Canadian business men universally revered than Tim Hortons. For millions in this country, "Tim's" long ago transformed the world of doughnuts into decent cups of coffee. Just now a part of the national identity—one of those rare brands by which people identify their selves. Admittedly double from Tim Hortons kind of guy wouldn't be caught dead or during a warm soy latte from Starbucks. And for generations of Canadians, there's no more visible sign on a late night drive than those glowing red letters along the side of the highway.

Over the course of 60 years, Tim's has caught and surpassed the big-name American-burger chains to become the underdog behemoth of this country's fast-food business—controlling 33 per cent of what the industry refers to as the "quick service restaurant" market. Consider that, on the average day, a typical Tim Hortons restaurant in Canada sells about \$2,000 worth of coffee, equivalent to more than 3,700 roadside stand cups. Stretch that across the 1,660 Tim's outlets throughout this country, and it equals a little more than 4.3 million cups a day—one for every person living in Vancouver, Montreal, Winnipeg and Halifax combined. It all adds up to revenue of close to \$5.5 million, every single day, or

a product that costs pennies a cup to make. And that doesn't even begin to touch on the simple beauty of a apple fritter. It's not the perfect business, it's done done.

To the man who was the driving force behind Tim Hortons for 39 years, this is the secret of success and justified pride, but personal pride glory. Earlier this year, Tim Hortons shares were listed for the first time on the Toronto Stock Exchange. The offering created a sensation and got a value of more than \$5.5 billion on the chain. In all the stories heralding Tim's arrival among the money

weights of the business world, however, the name Ron Joyce was almost universally relegated to footnote status, just passing references to the former Hamilton cop who founded the chain with legendary NHL defenceman Tim Horton back in the mid-1960s.

But Ron Joyce's place in the history of Tim Hortons is no footnote, and with a new book due in stores later this month, Canadians will finally get a glimpse of the complicated and messy personal story behind one of the most successful businesses ever created in this country—the drug, the addiction, the eye contact battle, a nine-figure cheque, and one spectacular, fatal car crash.

Always Fresh: The Untold Story of Tim Hor-



PARTNERS Ron Joyce and Tim Horton in 1967, just after opening their fourth shop.

ton By the New York *Crain's* a Canadian *Enquirer*, written with Toronto journalist Robert Thompson, is an unabashedly self-congratulatory as the title suggests, but it is far more than your typical business memoir. Joyce makes the book is nothing more complicated than a provably factual boy makes good story, but that significantly underestimates it. It's the poor kid made it big, as we all know by now. But it's also a book about how success came in the terms of friendship and family. It's an inside about jealousy, greed and betrayal as it's about cash flow and marketing.

On the surface, the details are so painful that they seem almost cliché. Joyce left Tim Hortons, N.S., at the age of 16 after dropping out of high school, and moved to Ontario in hopes of making something of his life. He started in Hamilton and worked on

old jobs in factories, scraping together enough to get by. Eventually he joined the police department and supplemented his meagre pay working as a produce truck driver, construction worker and finally guard before finally starting his own business in the country.

But for those aspects a 230-page thick-pouch porch to all the little people who helped him along the way, Joyce's recollections will land with a soft. Most striking is the book's portrayal of the company's mascot. The those who remember him at all, Tim Horton is an almost sacred figure. He is the hockey hero who grew up poor in a northern Ontario mining town, and was so afflicted by his early poverty that he worked in a gravel pit during off seasons even after he became a pro athlete. The cruelest picture of Horton is of a man who was driven by a phenomenal work ethic and a deep desire to be more than just a hockey player. But Joyce portrays his partner as little more than the public face of the business, and himself as both the brains and the workhorse behind the scenes. In one of his first meetings with Horton, when Joyce was still just a frat chaser, "it was clear that he didn't know the

business at all that well and couldn't help me with any of the problems we were having," Joyce writes. A few pages later, "Tim had no experience whatsoever [in operating a store], so the burden fell squarely on me." In the next chapter, once Joyce had become a full partner in the chain, he explains that Tim "had a tough time seeing the big picture for the business in the way I perceived it."

In one of the book's more memorable passages, Joyce describes just how detached his partner was from the reality of the job. A few years before he died, one was becoming clearer that his hockey career was winding down. Horton said he wanted to get a better handle on the business and asked Joyce to teach him to bake. The training was to last a couple of weeks, but after two frustrating nights and a failure, Horton stopped showing up, leaving Joyce once again to do the hard work that Horton avoided. "Without an everyday partner, all of the business's successes and failures were my doing," he concludes later.

It's an infuriating portrait, but if the struggling hockey player was a flawed businessman, those failures piled next to the disaster scene that was his personal life. Joyce opines that Horton drank so heavily that it probably contributed to the loneliness of his marriage. He cites an unconfirmed rumor that police once had to be called to break up a quarrel between Horton and his wife, Lori. Perhaps most surprising, Joyce reveals that Horton kept an apartment in Oakville, Ont., at which he carried on a long affair with an unidentified, married woman. According to Joyce, both planned to leave their spouses but Horton's life ran too close to the wire. He was on the road between Hamilton and Buffalo in February 1978.

Joyce spills a lot of dirt, but appears to hint at a greater deal of abuse in the aftermath of Tim's death. Joyce recalls travelling to St. Catharines to collect his personal effects. "It was part of a gentleman's agreement between Tim and me," he writes. "In deference to each other, the surviving partner would destroy any personal items that might cause embarrassment to the family." It would seem to be a cop statement that not only was Tim a more complicated and conflicted character than the world realized, but so was Joyce.

It's the depiction of Horton's wife, Lori, though, that is the most devastating to the book. "A player's wife can be an asset or a liability," he writes. "Lori was the latter, and you never know when she'll explode." The book describes her as a selfish attention seeker, and details embarrassing scenes in which Lori drew hysterical, public fits of anger, one time even flattening the tires on several of Horton's friends' cars after a particularly nasty blow up.

JOYCE PAINTS HORTON AS LITTLE MORE THAN THE PUBLIC FACE OF THE CHAIN, WHILE HE WAS THE WORKHORSE



JOYCE PAINTS HIS CALICOLOGY IN 1978 (LEFT); MAJOR (RIGHT)

DAVID J. PHILLIPS

After Horton died, Joyce entered Horton's marital widow as a business partner, to potentially disavow a claim. For two years they tried to coexist, but Lori never had the expertise to really help run the chain. Near the end of 1975, Joyce and Lori struck a deal to end their crumbling partnership. An independent audit valued the chain at \$17 million, and Joyce agreed to pay Lori \$500,000 for her half of the business. At the last minute, Lori held out for \$1 million. Joyce scrambled and went deeply into debt to complete the deal and gain full control.

In less than a decade, Lori burned through her share fortune, while Joyce quickly expanded Tim Horton's into a national chain. Now, Lori would sue Joyce, claiming that she had been re-imposed by bribe and ineptness that Joyce had been able to chase her out of her rightful share of the

'90s. Tim was a witness in support of Lori's suit against Joyce. As for his kids, Joyce indicates only that he remains close to his mother, and that all seven—four from his first marriage and three from his second—swelled in the Horton empire over the years.

Joyce is clearly uncomfortable discussing

ACCORDING TO JOYCE, HORTON WAS PLANNING TO LEAVE HIS WIFE SHORTLY BEFORE HIS DEATH

sayings with Lori, but the author objected, saying that the passage, when removed from the overall context of the book, makes it appear as if Joyce is a poor devil victim. But regardless of context, there's no denying the fact it is a scathing portrait, and Lori isn't the only one who comes off looking bad.

When Joyce told the Tim Hortons chain to Wendy's International in 1993, the deal immediately realized him into the realm of the success rich. But looking back, he says, it's the biggest regret of his career.

At first it seemed the sale was Joyce's ticket to a life of ease. Not only did he personally receive stock worth hundreds of millions of dollars, but came away with a stake in Wendy's board of directors, the title of senior chairman, and a salary of \$150,000 plus stock options. His contract allowed him to devote as much or as little time to the business as he chose. To most of the world this is the job description sent from heaven, but Joyce's happiness ended almost as soon as he was released from the driver's seat.

Immediately after the sale, Joyce became embroiled in a dispute with Wendy's management over dividends and a stock. The squabble eventually ended away, with threats of legal action. Joyce prevailed, but his relationship with top executives in Wendy's never recovered. He soon found himself frozen out of major corporate decisions, and his voice on the board of directors was rarely ignored.

Most galling of all, as Wendy's operations shrank and stumbled, Tim Horton's became the most profitable part of the whole enterprise, and yet management failed to aggressively expand the chain into the U.S.

Even Wendy's beloved founder Dave Thomas, whose Kelly person was a mainstay of the company's advertising until his death in 2002, is portrayed as a corporate manipulator who would abuse control over the business despite owning fewer shares than Joyce did. When Wendy's CEO Don Toner died in 1999, Thomas hand-picked his successor, Jack Schneider, over Joyce's wisest suggestions. "Thomas wanted Schneider because he knew he would be his 'yes' man," Joyce writes. "It was just another example of how weak the company's management was." Joyce bristled at the use of the words of attempting a bit of an abuse of the entire company, but concluded that such a move

would not only be economically risky, it would be virtually impossible with Thomas and his top managers standing in the way. Instead, he tried to go. Thomas and his execs were not with outside investors who had a vision how to breathe life into Wendy's beleaguering business. Thomas initially agreed, but CEO Schneider was famous at the conference, and the idea died.

Finally, Joyce decided he'd had enough. And in October 2001, while on fishing trip with former U.S. president at George Bush Sr., Joyce called the papers to nullify his ties to Wendy's and to set the list of his ties to the empire to zero. The deal was sealed with a cheque for US\$250 million.

That was when his 33-year relationship to the doughnut business ended completely. Tim Horton's children's empire established and continued to be a lasting legacy, providing a

A few years ago, a reporter with the *Calgary Herald* caught wind that Tim's had begun using fresh dough rather than refrigerating it up fresh at every location each morning. The procedure seemed to thin the face of Tim's "Always Fresh" mantra, and the company initially tried to ignore the story. But Joyce informed it was true and ended the deception. Franchise owners were furious at what they considered a betrayal of trust by the company's former leader. Even now, Joyce's anger shines through his measured prose. "The idea of using frozen dough was thoroughly disapproved of," he writes. "It wouldn't be done in Tim Horton's restaurants if I still owned the company, even if, in the long run, it may have been the best way to operate the chain."

Today, Joyce prefers not to go into detail about his relationship with management,

should have a great future." Nonetheless, if management didn't screw up the model I owned, they should do fine.

As for all the unpleasantness—with Lori, his ex-wife Tim, Paul Horton, Dave Thomas, Jack Schneider—Joyce prefers to just let the book speak for itself. Besides, he says, that stuff isn't what really matters anyway. "I just really wanted to tell the true story as I understand it, and as I lived it," Joyce says. "The amazing part of this story is that a young kid can leave small-town Nova Scotia as an early age, and be successful working hard at what he believed in... it's a great story of what you can achieve in this country."

Indeed it is. And it is also an undeniably compelling, warm-and-fuzzy depiction of the author himself—never always forthcoming, but resulting nonetheless. Early on in this memoir, Joyce quotes former U.S. president



HORTON with wife Lori in 1968. Also Lori with their four daughters, Jen, Kelly, Tracy and Kim, in 1967.

Horton himself. To this day, there are many who wonder that Joyce took advantage of a vulnerable and unstable woman. But in the early 1960s, an Ontario judge completely absolved Joyce—ruling that he "dealt fairly, reasonably and honestly with Mrs. Horton."

Sorting through the watered-down fragments of Joyce's personal relationships is no easy task, in large part because there seems to be much that he leaves unexplained. In the emotional aftermath of Tim's death, Joyce's second wife, Yoni, took their three children and left him, leaving no forwarding address where she could be found. Little is said of Yoni, except that she "wanted the benefits that came with a strong work ethic, but I always felt it wasn't willing to put up with the sacrifices I needed to make to obtain them." Later, Joyce says he "often denied" Lori after she told her stake in the business, but says he had no realising that he had addiction problems. In



three years even now. To enjoy the congregation of the courts doesn't change the fact that Joyce became one of Canada's richest men, and Lori Horton died in December 2000 with almost nothing. Joyce still bristles at the questions. "Mrs. Horton was treated very fairly," he says. "She just had too much money and too much freedom. I suppose" Joyce says he is on good terms with Lori's four daughters. Jen-Lyn married Joyce's son Benji, and he says as a result signed on to the other three daughters, Kim, Kelly and Tracy. Still, the book is not entirely peaceful in tone, and Joyce admits that's not a terrible thing. "Of course I worry, but I'm also seeing the stage for a little bit of what I went through," he explains. "I don't know whether I should've put it all in the book or not, but I've done it. I can't take it back."

Muchard had planned to run an excerpt from *Always Fresh* detailing Joyce's troubled



relationship with Lori, but the author objected, saying that the passage, when removed from the overall context of the book, makes it appear as if Joyce is a poor devil victim. But regardless of context, there's no denying the fact it is a scathing portrait, and Lori isn't the only one who comes off looking bad.



TIM'S DEATH IN 1974 meant Joyce inherited Horton's marital widow as a partner.

place for poor kids to enjoy the carrying on career each member. Joyce has gone on to establish a thriving real estate business (he built his dream golf resort on a stunning piece of property in Nova Scotia. He has sold around the world and generally lived the life of a multi-millionaire. Asked if he feels he's been denied his due, Joyce is gracious. "I'm having a wonderful life," he says. "I've done things I never could have dreamed of doing when I was young."

And yet, flashes of disappointment still bubble to the surface. Though he goes to great pains to be magnanimous, those close to Joyce say he harbours some lingering resentment toward current management of the chain—more so, for the most part, he heard, but who's moved away from some of the most fundamental aspects of his vision. The most stark example of this estrangement may be the frozen dough fiasco of 2001

saying simply that things are "normal." He means them. But this year, he could swear when he told reporters after the company's share offering that although he thought the business still had great potential, he wouldn't be buying the stock because he thought it was too expensive. In the book he scorns damn current CEO Paul House with first grace. Despite working closely with him for more than a decade, and putting him in control of day-to-day operations in 1991, Joyce severely criticizes House except to note that he failed to merge his son Grant Joyce when he joined the company in the early 1990s. House was travelling last week, putting the finishing touches on the company's stock spinoff, and didn't respond to a request for an interview. Ask what he thinks of Tim Horton's prospects going forward, Joyce chooses his words carefully. "I think, if the basic fundamentals are sound with it,



YEARS LATER, LORI SUED, CLAIMING JOYCE CHEATED HER OUT OF A FORTUNE

Colvin Goodridge. "Nothing in the world can take the place of persistence," he said. "I don't rest, not making a success of something until I am successful with that talent. Goals will not, unaccomplished dreams about a proverbial Education alone will not, the world is full of educated duffers. Persistence and determination alone are omnipotent."

And that is Ron Joyce. He didn't need education, or genius, or even much talent to do what he did. But he needed an endless supply of persistence to make a simple coffee shop into a casual restaurant—your first along the way, in the end used to say. He needed determination to survive all the personal struggles that came with it. And now he'll need those qualities again, to establish the inevitable backlash that comes from spelling the story, for better or for worse. ■

THEIR LAST MEETING

They squabbled over Tim's expenses, but parted friends at 4 a.m.

BY BOB JOYCE

ON WEDNESDAY, Feb. 20, 1994, Tim was scheduled to play for Buffalo in Toronto, and I planned on heading down to see the game with my wife, Teri, and Layton Goolbsy, who managed construction for TBL. We planned to meet after the game at George's Spaghetti House, a restaurant that was frequented by the Toronto Maple Leafs and other players when they were in town, to discuss develop-

ing at the real estate in Atlantic Canada. At last year's last meeting, Tim was hit in the jaw by a puck. Despite being in a lot of pain, he was determined to play that night and to meet afterwards.

After the game, the developers, Layton, Teri and I were expecting to meet Tim. He never appeared. After waiting for some time, we decided to go to dinner, figuring he might be there. He never showed up.

We all waited for a while and then drove back to the Ontario Oakville, where Tim and Layton had left their vehicles. When we arrived at the office, Tim was sitting in the dark, wearing his overcoat and his driving gloves. He had a blue and white checkered tie, a drink in front of him and his feet on the coffee table. Seeing Tim, I broke into laughter. He looked ridiculous.

"You can laugh, but this really hurts," he said, pinching the ice pack against his face. We started talking, but after about an hour, Tim and Layton left to go home, leaving Tim and I to talk about our business. It was well past midnight by this point.

We spoke about where we were going with the company. Interestingly, it was the 10th anniversary of the day I had taken over the first Tim Hortons franchise. But as I filed Tim in on some of the details of the company's plans, including the new new stores in Eastern Canada that would be under construction, the tone of the discussion changed. It became a little contentious when I made it the issue of company credit cards. It had bothered me for a while that Tim would use company funds

to pay for phone cards used by his family, as well as covering bills at the Decade Club in Toronto and paying for gas for his family's car. He had his father named our "northern Ontario supervisor" and placed on payroll, though we only had three or four stores at the time. It was costing the business a lot of money, which we couldn't afford at the time, but Tim wanted to make everyone around him happy.

"Tim, if we ever get audited, these expenses won't fly," I told him. "You just can't do this."

"Just, Ron, what's the big deal?"

"Well, if you are using the card to entertain your customers when you are in Los Angeles, it is going to be pretty hard to say



His PARTNER "gassed me at quite a clip," Joyce recalls.

me a business expense," I replied. "How are we going to explain this? This has got to stop so we're going to get audited."

He got angry at that point, saying he paid his taxes to the government and that this shouldn't be an issue.

"What's the big deal here, Ron? Do you want the whole company to go bankrupt?"

I decided it wasn't worth pursuing and let the matter drop. By this time I was very tired, and I knew I would have to be in court early the next morning. And it would take Tim on home and a half to get back to Buffalo. I suggested it would be easier on him if he spent the night at my place in Burlington. He agreed and said he would lock up.

"I love you, Tim," he said, referring to

me by the nickname he used, and kissing me on the cheek. He had a necklace for most of his friends. Mine was not very flattering, because it was a gift about my grandfather, from the conclusion of our meeting, there were no handshakes. It was around 4 a.m. by the time we left, and I was heading along the Queen Elizabeth Way when Tim's Pontiac passed me. I fully expected he'd be waiting at my house when I arrived.

It has never been quite clear what happened next. By some accounts, Tim was driving the Pontiac too fast and missed the exit to head to my home. He certainly had passed me at quite a clip, as I was travelling much faster than I should have in my Lincoln Continental as the QEW had not yet opened as of that hour. Once he missed my exit, he appeared to have been determined to make it back to Buffalo. When I arrived home and the wipers were on, I went to bed. In my dream, Tim

'HE'S DEAD,' SAID IMLACH. 'I KNEW I SHOULDN'T HAVE BOUGHT HIM THAT F---ING CAR.'

had simply followed a when and decided it would be better to get home that night. I was awakened at 4 a.m. by a phone call. I picked up the receiver to find out it was Punch Imlach.

"Ron, I've got some business and I want you to call Len and the kids," he said. I had just come out of a deep sleep and the call caught me off guard. I wasn't immediately clear about what Punch was saying.

"Tim has been in a car accident."

"How bad is it?" I asked.

"He's dead," he said, with a hint of anger in his voice. "I know I shouldn't have bought him that f---ing car."

With that, he hung up. ■

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THAILAND. COUP À GO-GO IS A DEFINITE NO-NO

At first, army leaders allowed high-profiled Thais to be photographed next to the troops, out in force in Bangkok following the recent coup. But things are getting out of hand. Artists dressed as Thai war heroes were arrested after performing in front of tourists. And when go-go girls dressed in bloody stripes danced in front of a tank for a music video, Col. Anand Pimolrat shot a note to such distractions. "A coup," Anand said, "is not entertaining."



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PRESCRIPTION FOR CONTROVERSY: "There is no evidence to justify a ban," says CanWest.

AD MEN ON DRUGS

CanWest is fighting to change the rules on drug advertising. Millions are at stake.

BY DANYLO HAWALEKINE • In the pre-dawn courtroom scene from *A Few Good Men*, Tom Cruise shouts, "I want the truth!" at Jack Nicholson, whose trademark character testifies, "You ain't handle the truth!" Nicholson famously retorts, "Today, you make accusations. Tomorrow, you make accusations. And the next day, you make accusations." In this case, it's not a simple matter of right and wrong, but a complex legal battle. CanWest's Canadian division is being denied important trials about prescription medications because of strict limits on drug advertising. Canada's largest media company claims the regulations (which it says are unconstitutional) are a violation of its constitutional right to freedom of expression, place it at a competitive disadvantage, and cause it to lose millions of dollars in ad revenue.

CanWest's suit against the attorney general of Canada cites the country's *Food and Drugs Act* as the villain. The act forbids direct-to-consumer advertising (DTCA) that ties a prescription drug to a treatment, cure or disease. (It is illegal for CanWest to, for instance, run an ad to promote Viagra for impotence, but quite legal to separately publicize the brand, or the conditions, there are no such restrictions on ads that target physicians exclusively to, say, trade journals.) In a

recent statement, Arturo Duran, a CanWest Media/Worldwide president, claims positioning DTCA in Canada would educate the public about drug risks and benefits. "There is no evidence to justify a ban on truthful advertising of prescription drugs," Duran says.

CanWest's push to loosen ad rules seems to be part of a larger strategy to generate more revenue. Last week, the company submitted a raft of recommendations to the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission, which is reviewing TV regulations. The rules have not kept pace with the emergence of a plethora of cable and satellite channels, as well as an unregulated Internet, says Peter Viner, CEO of CanWest Media/Worldwide.

There is a legislative hypocrisy at the core of the drug-ad restrictions, CanWest contends. It asks how it is legal to advertise over-the-counter medications for allergies, colds, pain and stomach ailments, though some are associated with side effects that include adverse interactions with other drugs, kidney and liver disease, even dependency.

Some critics say such reasoning is absurd. "It's like saying the public is exposed to some degree of harm already, so let's expose them to greater harm," notes Barbara Minerva, a University of British Columbia drug researcher. But U.S. channels seen in Canada already broadcast exactly the kind of prescription drug ads CanWest isn't allowed to carry. Still, U.S. magazines could have carry ads. Canadian publications cannot. Greg O'Brien, publisher of *Cable Radio Television* magazine, an online newsletter, says the rules are outdated. "CanWest is asking for something they should have gotten a long time ago."

The United States and New Zealand are the only nations to allow comparatively unlimited drug advertising. In the U.S., DTCA expenditures for prescription medications last year totalled over US\$3 billion. The industry would welcome an opportunity to run more ads, says Jacqui Lefebvre, spokeswoman for Baskin, which represents companies that include AstraZeneca, GlaxoSmithKline and Pfizer. "We believe that the best patients are the ones who are informed and knowledgeable about their condition," Lefebvre says.

The Canadian Medical Association's *Journal* estimates DTCA for prescribed drugs could generate about \$160 million in annual revenues for Canada's media, and lead to up to \$1.2 billion in additional drug sales. If CanWest and its television, radio, newspaper and online brands succeed, all media profit, including Rogers Media, which owns *Maclean's*. Patients who request a drug by name are more likely to leave a doctor's office with a

IN THE U.S., CONSUMER ADS FOR PRESCRIPTION MEDICATIONS TOTALLED \$3 BILLION LAST YEAR

prescription, says Dr. Joel London, a professor at York University's school of health policy and management in Toronto. The evidence, London says, "suggests these people are being over-treated." Furthermore, the more doctors rely on information from ads, the worse they do prescribing. "If doctors are misled by promotion, it's a very scary proposition to ask to believe that consumers are going to be even more misled." Others, like O'Brien, disagree. "People are smart enough to make decisions on their own." ■

TONICS

IT'S LITTLE THINGS THAT RUIN BUSINESS TRIPS
Want to avoid a cold while on business trips this winter? Spend your evening decontaminating your hotel room. U.S. researchers have sampled hotel rooms and found their surfaces rich with cold-causing rhinoviruses, touching telephones, lamps, doorknobs or TV remotes exposes guests to a one-in-five chance of contracting a cold virus, researchers found. Such subjects can harbour transmittable levels of viruses for up to 96 hours.

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LIVING IN STYLE: Rooms furnished by Herman Miller, and a handy Starbucks downstairs

DESIGNER DORMS

**At DePaul U, residence
means satellite TV and
granite countertops**

BY DANIEL HAYALESSHA • Lifers' student
residence used to mean crowded bathrooms,
ratty parties and worries about who's grow-
ing in the back of the fridge. Increasingly, how-
ever, it's about peace of mind, and now, even,
style. Loft Right, a luxury US\$75 million condo-
like residence for 594 DePaul University stu-
dents in Chicago, epitomizes a trend in which
private developers build and run upscale prop-
erties that cater exclusively to students.

Loft Right opened last month. Its modern
mineralite features floor-to-ceiling glass, ex-
posed ducts, granite countertops in the kitchen
and bath, and designer furniture. Andrew
Mollen, a first-year graduate student in design
management, says he's the envy of students who
aren't lucky enough to live at Loft Right. "They're like, 'Wow, you live there? Wow! I want
to live there,'" and I say, "Yeah, you can—next
year, because we're full!"

Located in the heart of Chicago's Lincoln
Park, an upscale residential neighborhood,
the apartments are shared by two, three or
four students, each with his or her own pri-
vate room. If a deadbeat roommate flunks
out, or fails to pay the rent, the building man-
agement takes care of the problem. Rent
(single for US\$1,035 a month to US\$1,400,

and includes everything: telephone,
gas, water, a premium satellite TV package,
contemporary furniture by Herman Miller—
famous for its Aero-Office chairs and Noguchi
tables—and wireless Internet access in all pub-
lic spaces, including the laundry room. A
washing machine in the lobby takes credit
cards and dispenses DVDs. "My favourite re-
source was, 'Ohmygod!' I will never live in a
place like this ever again in my entire life, no
matter how successful I am," says Holly
Cobb, Loft's general manager. "This, to me,
is really cool."

Private developers are increasingly man-
aging residences at Canadian universities as
well, although these tend to be "bare bones,"
says Ian Boyko, a spokesman for the Cana-
dian Federation of Students. "You'd be very
hard pressed to find anything comparable
in Canada. We don't have the sort of class
striving of universities that you see in the U.S."

But upscale real estate has its own chal-
lenges. A number of the proposed rental
units for the Loft Right building have yet to
open, including a swimming pool, says Clara
Quinn, a fifth-year sociology un-
dergrad. "Our residents are very stylish, I
would say, and a lot of people have been ask-
ing about the pool—like, 'Is it open?' and they
haven't opened up yet. But, we do have a Starbucks!
It's so popular!" It's a common complaint that
when things go rough at school, at least there's
refuge to be found in a campus machine. ■

SCHOOL'S OFF AND SO ARE THE MARRIAGES
All classes were cancelled last month at the Tongren Centre
Primary School in China because of teachers' divorces—well, just
one, but all of them. When local authorities announced they were
cutting back employment at the school, they made exceptions
for anyone widowed or divorced with children to support. School
officials have since reversed the cutbacks at the school and are
convincing teachers to return.

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THE TRUDEAU REVELATIONS

He bared his soul to women, his dream diary, and to his shrink

BY BRIAN KETTERKAMP Pierre Elliott Trudeau's charisma always lay as much in the crisma of the man as in his physical presence or avowed intelligence. He kept his private self guarded from even his closest colleagues. Friend and adviser Marc Lalonde compared Canada's 14th prime minister to an oyster that opened with great difficulty, adding that Trudeau had only one person to lean about a personal matter—the breakup of his marriage to Margaret Trudeau. Yet to venture, as John English documented in the first volume of his two-part study *Crises of the World: The Life of Pierre Trudeau* (Knopf), the man who calmed riotous overpopulation was astonishingly—passionately—open about his desires and fears. English is the first biographer to have had full access to Trudeau's private journals and voluminous correspondence, including e-mails—sometimes mail—pile-of-the letters he sent

another child of Montreal's francophone elite, during the 1940s. Letters from the view of outside an explosive if painful emotional growth—it was from these he wrote Gouin of his regret that he had kept his eyes glued to his academic studies, some how ignoring “the greatest city of my time occupying 10 hours from my desk.” When Gouin asked for clarification, she received a terse response dated May 25, 1946, after the fall of the Third Reich: “The city?” It was the war, the war, the WAR.

But it is the personal aspect of their relationship—two young Catholics falling in love via correspondence—that proves so fascinating. Their letters are full of hopes and desires, and thick with (readily suppressed) emotion, although jealousy and a hint of sexual frustration emerge in Trudeau's. His grew increasingly underpinned by the psychoanalysis that Gouin, later an eminent psychologist and officer of the Order of Canada, was

undergoing as part of her studies—especially the notion she should keep any of it private from him. By early 1947, however, Trudeau too—partly because of his emotional turmoil, partly because it was in the intellectual air (what could be more awareness, in the post-war Days of Jean Paul Sartre, than Freudian analysis?)—had begun to visit an analyst.

Much of the record of Trudeau's analytical sessions (so careful, not to say obsessive, preservation of his personal papers makes him the best documented of all prime ministers—with the possible exception of William Lyon Mackenzie King, 50 English was able to examine the bells (high) and the brass of consultations, which the biographer says are “intensely long”—at least three times a week for appointments that could last for hours (McGee was a problem for the independently wealthy young parent). Trudeau also preserved his own transcripts of his dream diary as well as his notes of the first association sessions—disasters, English writes, “that reveal subtle and even major ailments to the standard version of Trudeau possessed in his own dreams and in other words of him.” Huddled with notes—poems of the hard-won writers down to an illegible—the notes capture Trudeau at an emotionally fragile time, February to June 1947.

PIERRE TRUDEAU with his close blond (and later speech writer) **Roger Belland** in Paris, 1947



HIS ANALYST ASSURED TRUDEAU HIS SEXUALITY WAS 'NORMAL' BUT SUBMITTED BECAUSE OF RELIGION

others. These he wrote to his mother and to a handful of other extraordinary women: the most frequently quoted documents in Canadian English series, because they “revealed most fully the private self that Trudeau quietly cloaked.”

And what a self they show—divinely ambitious and intensely romantic, intellectually curious and devoutly religious, jealous of his personal liberty and possessive of the attention of his female correspondents. That's never more on display than in the 200 letters du ventriloquist Trudeau sent Therese Gouin, four years his junior and

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HISTORY

The analyst Trudeau chose was one of the most eloquent in France. Georges Poucheney, 59, a founding member of the Paris Psychoanalytic Society, combined an education to Freud with personal courage—he once joined Freud, a Viennese Jew, to the face of Nazi officers in occupied France—and a healthy dose of common sense. Poucheney often cautioned Trudeau not to take himself or his problems too seriously—or, for that matter, psychoanalysis as a science. Surprisingly, despite the frequent dream presence of his then-closest friend (and later speech writer) Roger Koolhaas, there is little



TRUDEAU (left) with the young Therese Groulx over 200 letters; (below) In Paris

Trudeau grew fond of his analyst and became convinced that analysis could help him understand—if not change—himself. So he kept up his expensive and time-consuming visits. The psychiatrist reassured him that there was nothing out of his control: his marriage "One or two years of married life, when the vital spirits would be able to find expression, when your vitality would find its expression in the responsibility of the marital home, the contact with feminine values, and the satisfaction of your sexual aspects." The sessions continued for two weeks after the pink, Quebec—despite Trudeau's dream of a French union gone bad—in marriage. With that, Poucheney declared the analysis finished. "Once two years after marriage, all should go well," he said. But, in English's succinct summation, "it would not be so easy."

Trudeau may have been right that he had learned much about himself, but was certainly correct that self-knowledge hadn't changed him. Tensions remained with Groulx—jealousy on his side, doubts about his marriage seeped on hers, conflicting professional ambitions on both. He was angry too, that she had revealed in confidence that Trudeau had been to analysis—"A secret ought to remain a secret." When they met again in person, in



Montreal in the late spring of 1947, the love affair—extremely emotional, completely non-physical, and clearly he experienced at a distance—begins to die. In 1948, Therese Groulx became engaged to Trudeau's friend Vincent Desrosiers, best understood philosopher (in 1968, the Dictator, best promoter of the 1968 Montreal Olympics, was among the first supporters of Trudeau's bid for the prime ministership.)

Sometime in the 1950s, the ideal (and fact) of chastity melted away for Trudeau, as it did for so many Catholics during the long run-up to the sexual revolution of the following decade. But Pierre Trudeau remained true to himself, a passionate defender of his own personal liberty who refused to correspond to gossip columns over prospective lovers' lives. There were other women, but he never married until 1971, when, among Catholics,

THE FUTURE PRIME MINISTER MAY HAVE LEARNED A LOT ABOUT HIMSELF, BUT HE DIDN'T CHANGE

By the general Freudian wording, "a genital phase that has not been achieved," Trudeau meant he was a 27-year-old virgin, a status reinforced by powerful religious conviction and by a desire to travel the world unencumbered. Poucheney helpfully said that he had not detected a carnal compulsion, nor any evidence of homosexuality, which might have been curable. He assured Trudeau that his sexuality was "normal," and he had sublimated it only because he was a well-regarded believing Catholic, for whom marriage was a profound sacrament. For his part, Trudeau made a non-progressive for the future—the fact that premarital and adulterous sex were much more common in France than in Quebec, even among Catholics.

OF UNIVERSITÉ DE MONTREAL, MONTREAL, SPACES



HUMPHING DOGS: BEST FRIENDS FOREVER
Archaeologists have found a 1,000-year-old pit cemetery just south of Lima, Peru. Buried next to their assumed masters are 43 mummified dogs, still furry and recognizable. Some of them were buried with blankets and food. They belonged to members of the Chiriguano culture, an agricultural society that breeds shepherd dogs for their ability to herd llamas. Experts believe that the ancient dogs' DNA may still be in modern Peruvian dogs.

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NEWSPAPER

THE SECRETS OF HIS SUCCESS

Mac 'n' cheese and a lucky Bertuzzi T-shirt have this slugger in the hunt for MVP

BY JOHN BURNES • On a parade day, the Minnesota Twins' sweet-smelling first baseman Justin Morneau logs well about noon: he's hung blankets over his bedroom windows to block out the sun, eats a huge plate of macaroni and cheese ("my carb"), and wears a Vancouver Canucks Todd Bertuzzi T-shirt under his jersey. "One of my buddies brought it down for me in June and the first night I wore it I hit two home runs," says Morneau, whose famous hockey player is actually the Canucks's newly acquired blunderer Willie Marshall. "The very superstitious."

Whatever it is, it's working. The lefty hitting slugger from New Westminster, B.C., has been on a tear since June, and finished the regular season with 14 homers, 110 runs batted in and a .321 batting average. For a big guy (Morneau is 6-foot-4 and weighs 235 lb.), his batting average is his most impressive stat. Marty, including his own manager, Ron Gardenhire, are calling MVP. One competing list is even hawking T-shirts—emblazoned with "M's 13 for MVP"—on the Internet for \$9.99. "It isn't my favorite one," laughs Morneau, 27. "But the guy sent me a couple. It didn't, of course, replace his Bessie when the Twins started post-season play against Oakland this week."

Morneau is the player reason the Twins are playing in October, and he can spend a healthy raise this winter (his current US\$185,000-a-year salary). He owns a house in Arizona, where he maintains the all-season, and is considering a second bedroom pad in his hometown. When he's in St. Paul, Minn., during the season, he rents a room in his roommate Joe Mauer's two-bedroom townhouse.

Dubbed the "New M&M Boys" (the Yankee's Roger Mauer and Mickey Mantle were the originals), Morneau and Mauer became like a couple of frat brothers: they're about 10 years apart but the same kind of fun-loving, not-so-serious, and a little bit of a prankster. Their fridge is stocked with beer and pop. They get a lot of mischief. And they usually stay up late after games watching TV on the 60-inch screen in their basement, which also houses a vending machine full of Gatorade and Bud Light. "Joe doesn't have TVs, so I don't download



MORNEAU USED TO HIT 500 BALLS AT LUNCH

a lot of home video," says Morneau, the manager of the two. "We watched *Power Break* and now *The Office* on, so we'll watch that."

Jack (Morneau), Mauer's dad, George, lives in on the Internet to almost every game his son plays. Having coached Justin from "kicks to about 15," he checks every outing. But, at Justin's request, he only offers advice when asked. Sometimes, however, he can't resist. "We had lunch a couple of weeks ago in Arizona, and as he was leaving I said, 'your top hand is soft,'" says George, a former child-care worker who volunteers as a hitting coach with two top-tier minor league teams in

B.C. "The glove was dirty, but that might have been five for five. I know it was by heart."

At 1, Morneau and his older brother Gordie spend hours hawking Willie balls over the family's two-story house. And he always played as leagues against older kids. At 15, facing 19- and 20-year-olds, he went 13 for 14 in a tournament (mostly hit a homer). At the national level, he hit a 500-foot shot that, his dad boasts, "people still talk about."

Growing up, Morneau modelled his always dangerous cut after former Toronto Blue Jay John Olerud and Cincinnati Red Ken Griffey, Jr. "In high school, I'd go to the batting cage at noon as the lunch bell went and hit 500 balls and then come back for the last class in the afternoon," says George. "He hit about 100 days a year."

Morneau caught for the national team a couple of years and was a backup catcher on the 1991 Memorial Cup-winning Portland Winter Hawks. Still, he graduated on time and was drafted out of high school in 1999 by the Twins in the third round (39th overall) his 18th birthday, which

has just turned 21. "I was a couple with the Twins' Derek Jeter for the American League MVP honors that season, so at least partly inherited from his parents. George, a former enforcer with the Brandon Wheat Kings who was drafted by the NHL's Minnesota North Stars, met his first wife, Justin's mother Auden, when he coached her in a senior women's team park league. "Justin is such a like humor," says George. "His superstitious like me. And he's always been on me and cheese. His mom was one of the greatest cooks around, but he always asked for Kraft Dinner." ■



TRAGIC STAGE MUSICAL RELIES ON AN ORGAN
Playwright Jung Sung-jun has created a full-length musical about North Korean prison camps. *Reds* (sung) played to 100,000 people in South Korea and opened in the U.S. this month. It's no glossy musical. It follows a dancer who is imprisoned, tortured and tortured the finally (sung) himself. Jung, whose show included songs such as "You are Just Like George," has rare commendations: Tennessee Williams for the production he pledged a kidney as collateral to a loan shark.

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WHERE EVERY COP IS A CRIMINAL

Scorsese goes back to the mean streets, and it should finally win him an Oscar

BY BRIAN D. JOHNSON

film

Right from the opening scene, as Gene Hackman comes up on the town deck, along with the lecherous voice of Jack Nicholson, sounding like the devil on a head off, *The Departed* enters the bloodstream with the risk of a war, a familiar drug. We're back on the mean streets of vintage Martin Scorsese. Nicholson and Scorsese have never worked together, and there's a divine match made in hell. As for Gene Hackman, after using it in both *Goodfellas* and *Casino*, the director seems to have adopted its menacing riff as his own specialty signature. It's not his humanizing in a world of gangs, guns and rock 'n' roll, where he's quite another Scorsese using every cop in a criminal, and all the inner demons. It's that old Mafia constant: a war of truth or consequences. And Scorsese has never been more on top of his game.

The Departed is his best movie since *Goodfellas* (1993). After the coaching spectacle of *Gangs of New York* and *The Aviator*, two period epics that craved significance, his

new Irish first master to two decades that is set in the present. One of the most respected actors makes a high noon showdown between two protagonists meeting for the first time—on a rooftop. Yes, two protagonists. This is one Scorsese movie that doesn't follow a Christ figure on a road to redemption. It's a drama of deception and loyalty that gives between two equally matched male leads, a more engaging of each other.

Leonardo DiCaprio and Matt Damon play Billy and Cole, cops with the Massachusetts state police working as double agents on opposite sides of the law. They're both from "Southie," the working-class neighborhood of South Boston. Billy goes undercover for the police, infiltrating the mob by winning the trust

ing preliminary fairly they wind really out in those days. The director cuts the time early with a between scene of DiCaprio's character trying to establish his criminal trust with First he becomes his first into a man's face and his hand books. In frustration, he grabs a control and uses it to a high school to blind-goon him—an upgrade of the hellish scene search in *Goodfellas*, from the Martha Stewart school of impressing with household items. Now cut to DiCaprio with a fresh cut on his eye, we get to know who's going to help you to that. The whole sequence unfolds with the inevitability of a blues progression.

Scorsese would violence as form of savage war. But it's never gratuitous. In Hollywood dramas, violence usually provides a



IN FINE FORM, NICHOLSON SOUNDS LIKE THE DEVIL ON HIS DAY OFF

new crime thriller arrives as an exhilarating return to form. Scorsese is the powerful director of being the greatest living director never to win an Academy Award. With five failed nominations for best director, he's long overdue. And if this movie doesn't do the trick, it's hard to imagine what will.

Based on an obscure Hong Kong crime thriller, *Infected Affairs* (2002), *The Departed* doesn't feel like a remake—perhaps because screenwriter William Monaghan adapted the script without using the original movie. He transplanted the plot to his home turf of Boston, where the bars and bookshops of the Irish mafia stand just a short away from New York's Little Italy in *Goodfellas*.

Yet *The Departed* is a departure for Scorsese.



DIACAPRIO (OPP) has the kind of controlled intensity Scorsese discovered in *De Nile*

of Irish crime from Frank Conolly (Nicholson), Colan Macaulay is a role for himself, typing off Conolly in the run to the top of an elite unit charged with bringing him down.

In classic Scorsese style, *The Departed* is a dirty bomb of aged violence and lacrima-

rious of art, as an act of glorious vengeance, fearless destruction or noble sacrifice. In a time of war and terrorism, it's refreshing to see violence presented in its raw state. For Scorsese, the set has no sentimental baggage. It's not tragic. It's nasty and extreme and sudden. Unlike a whole range of Hollywood clichés, from *Pulp Fiction* to *Spinal Tap* to *Tarantino*, Scorsese is not fond of recovery in action scenes. He likes to chop them in the middle. In *The Departed*, even when saving up something as conventional as a fireball, he cuts before it's finished exploding—though it's like a bomb. There's nothing more brutal than a Scorsese edit.

Violence in movies gets increased, and often condensed, as the viewer kind of alien



TQM SKORSHITT and **Calvin** Reshant W. Brubaker & Sisters' Pockhart plans a radio talk-show host who supports the war in Iraq.

Why Hollywood can't get it right

The conservatives in these new shows are about as authentic as Shaggy on 'Scooby-Doo'

BY JAIME J. WEIDMAN • Godless liberal Hollywood is reaching out. That's the impression you might get from some new shows on U.S. television this season, which feature political or religious conservatives as characters. But are producers really reaching out, or just creating characters in their own image?

The most talked-about new show with a politically conservative character is *Brothers & Sisters*, created by playwright Jon Robin Baskin. The lead character, played by Ally McEvedy herself, Calista Flockhart, is a radio talk-show host, sort of a softened version of the female pundits who populate the airwaves today. *Grandmother* Kim Oller puts it: "She's not Ann Coulter. She's not insane." The character is conservative on some issues, like the Iraq war, but not so conservative on others, especially social issues.

Meanwhile, Aaron Sorkin's new show, *Studio 54* on the NBCnet site, includes a conservative Christian character loosely based on Sorkin's ex-girlfriend, actress Kristin Chenoweth. But like *Fleischman's* character, the character played by Sarah Paulson is a carefully calculated not to offend those who are so left-liberal that they may have appeared on *The View*. Oh, but she's not upset when her late-night comedy show does a "Crazy Christmas" sketch "I was offended! I wasn't in the sketch," she explains.

This isn't the first time that the TV industry has looked at the so-called culture wars. In the early '90s, with the rise of conservative talk radio, there were several shows with night-leaning characters, including *Love & War*, a show from the creator of *Murphy Brown*, where Jay Thomas played a conservative radio host. But that character had the

Staten socially moderate, in contrast of "spin," and open to opposing viewpoints—in other words, not the sort of person who would be likely to host a real political talk show.

And so it was when Hollywood tries to do shots about political conservatives, they create characters who are more from real world misperceptions at Reagan or Scooby Doo than actual happenings. But it has allowed it the strength to understand politics that is a different from their own. It's very, very interesting and compelling to see, I would say, a gathering of critics, to try and understand this, to be honest about some of the strong presuppositions of the two camps. But the politics of the Plodden character aren't an all appeal of the two camps, especially of Hollywood.

After all, the political culture of Hollywood is concerned not to make by Michael

Moore (who doesn't work in Hollywood anyway) but by actor-turned-governor Arnold Schwarzenegger, socially liberal, but fairly conservative on fiscal and foreign policy issues. This illustrates again the kind of character Hollywood plays on Brothers & Sisters, a person who's conservative where Hollywood people might be conservative, and liberal where they're liberal. She's like Arnold Schwarzenegger in a short skirt.



ACTOR POLITIC
"With hundreds of millions of people at risk, Clooney said the odds are bleak. To which Ted 'Actors have no political stances, or values, or government one cast member o

down too strongly on one side of a debate. O'Jays shows sometimes stirred-up controversy for taking sides on major issues, like AIDS, whose former Arthur's character had an abortion. But today, few producers want to give offence, so even a self-proclaimed political show like *Brothers & Sisters* is so self-consciously balanced as to have no particular political point of view at all.

You must argue that Hollywood should be reaching out to the left, not the right; in opposition to the people who make them, the actual content of TV shows is quite conservative enough. Law and Order has a conservative take on crime cases (even if the criminals are rich white guys), it's a show with liberal loopholes and Miranda rights are for our allowing crooks to go off scot free. *24*, which portrays torture as an effective tool in fighting terrorism, has become so popular with conservatives that Rush Limbaugh hosted a panel discussion on its influence, so which he told the creators that they were lucky for insurance that moonshiners like Sam Hanks

But even with lower ratings for Fox News and other conservative media outlets, we may continue to get more characters like Flooker's and Paulsen's. They're people who are eager to bridge a cultural divide, and wind up as schwa like musical Californians. ■

ON THE WEB: For more TV culture, visit www.fox.com. Join J. Wainman's new blog at www.fox.com/jwainman.

AFTER POLITICIANS ACCORDING TO TV

"With rumors swirling of him possibly running for office, Geier and Clooney said the only thing he plans to run for his two legs and a drink. To which Ted Kennedy said, 'You can do both.' —Jay Leno

"Actors have no place exposing political slurs, or having political views, or voting. Besides, I think it's in the constitution that no government official shall be held concurrently by more than one cast member of *Wisteria and Arbor*." —Stephen Colbert



LEVERAGING THE POWER OF DATA

Canadian Companies Turn the Focus on Their Customers

By Rod Ferguson

COLLOQUIUM® the print and web publication that covers the art and science of loyalty marketing across all industries and around the globe, has profiled its share of Canadian loyalty programs over the years. To say that loyalty programs are now ubiquitous in Canada is an understatement—according to AC Nielsen, 97 percent of Canadians participate in at least one loyalty program.

With loyalty programs so commonplace, have they simply become the cost of doing business? Loyalty programs are a strategic asset, both for the information and insights they provide and for the consumer experience they deliver. But we have seen an ongoing debate among practitioners about the true value of loyalty programs: are they valuable merely for the bottom-line return on investment they provide, or does their true value lie in acquiring customer data that drives benefit back into the core business model?

At COLLEAGUE, we think the answer to this question is a no-brainer: the former depends on the latter. Information is the power. Loyalty marketing is measurable marketing, and you can do basic loyalty data analysis that translates into the financial benefits of customer lift, shift and retention. But that's the least you should be doing with your loyalty data. Forward-thinking marketers have evolved to the next stage of data analysis: leveraging the power of customer data to fundamentally transform their organizations from inside.

and sell internally-focused companies into powerful, customer-focused businesses.

A loyalty programme is the best means available for marketers to collect the customer data that fuels the modern enterprise. Loyalty currency isn't an end in itself, but rather a means to the end of collecting valuable customer insights. The loyalty value proposition enables companies to begin benefiting from loyalty as a strategic asset that can change consumer behaviour. Take the AIR MILES® Reward Program as an example—we've been following AIR MILES

In fact, the AIR MILES Rewards Program is regarded around the globe as a world class model for managing effective customer loyalty. The data flowing in through the program enables AIR MILES sponsors to better understand who buys, why they buy and how they buy and the valuable consumer insights that emerge from this data help them successfully manage their marketing resources to target customers who represent the greatest potential profitability.

Marketing executives throughout Canada have come to understand the price

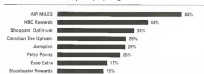
When our GOAL is ..	A loyalty program can ..
Optimal growth across all sales	identify customers
>100 customer acquisition or prospecting	differentiate targeted & customer segmentation
100% to initiate the largest number of contacts at the lowest cost	target customer behaviours (B2B & B2C)
>10% within 1M, staff and acquisition of customers	guide decision making and marketing strategies
>10% use customer segments data for competitive advantage	manage bottom line profitability
>10% use customer segments data for growing new products with customer knowledge	
>10% reward differentially based on an individual customer's present and future value	

since its inception. Over the years we've watched it grow into Canada's largest and most successful loyalty program, with over 8 million active collector accounts representing about two-thirds of Canadian households collecting and redeeming reward miles at a rate of over 500 redemptions per hour and tens of thousands of collector touches daily.

importance of customer data to their fundamental business models. Yes, they still want their loyalty programs to deliver incremental behaviour shifts that lead to measurable return on investment. But they also see that, when it comes to leveraging program data, most companies have barely scratched the surface of opportunity.

At COLLOQUY, we look forward eagerly to telling new success stories as marketing innovators continue to leverage the power of data. The proof, as they say, will be in the pudding.

Current Enrollment in Major Loyalty Programs



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COLLOQUY



PAKISTAN! PRESIDENT! Pervez Musharraf appeared on *The Daily Show* with Jon Stewart to promote his new memoir *In the Line of Fire*.

He's Pakistan's least worst hope

Like the old country song says, I dug Musharraf when Musharraf wasn't cool

BY MARK STEYN

The *Jad Gao*, Musharraf was able to take time out of his hectic book tour to meet with President Bush at the White House. As far as I know, the play-doh can also visit is a new phenomenon in the international scene: the Qatari didn't attempt to squeeze in her golden jubilee event in between presenting "Dance & Me: The True Story" on Oprah and Barbara Walters. But Pakistan's head of government looked more comfortable with Jon Stewart than he did in a directed with Washington insider with Harold Kumar. After meeting privately, he showed me some space for him connect with Benazir Bhutto when he did for the Pakistanis celebration, telling me the book's explosive revelations on intelligence from his school with the same point and discipline as old hands like Bob Woodward of *The Insider*, it must be the old country from Sept. 12, 2001, the Bush administration threatened to bomb Pakistan "back to the Stone Age." It wouldn't have surprised me to discover that he'd captured and executed Osama bin Laden in the spring of 2002, but that due to his book deal he wasn't allowed to disclose it until the publication day interview with Katie Couric.

In the event, that was in the book. But in the *Line of Fire* will fall of succumbing to the fall, and it begins with possibly the coolest opening of any memoir: a memoir of the catalogue of the general's brushes with death over the years, from a bad childhood fall out of a window, through the many plane and helicopter crashes that seem to afflict the senior heads of the Pakistani military, to the new routine assassination plots of disaffected followers. Musharraf was close to being

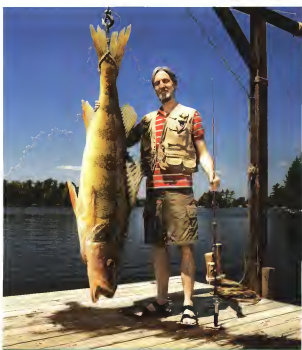
about Gen. Zia's C-130, which went down on Aug. 17, 1988, taking the country's then army general, plus the U.S. ambassador and many other bigwigs, to a "very death," as the author puts it. "The crash was never fully explained," notes Musharraf blandly.

These days, he's an old hand at the terrorist which job entails: "As my car became airborne I immediately realized what was happening," he writes. "Like other military leaders, I am also a soldier, chief of the army staff, and supreme commander of my country's armed forces. I am not out to be in the midst of battle." Which is just as well. Eleven days later, "Christmas Eve, in fact—and how we go again!" I took out my Glock pistol, which is always with me, and shouted to Jim Mohammed in Urdu, "Yeha, Agha!" "None, none," I hear him back and blood was all over them. "I don't know whether Steven & Stewart are planning on launching a series of memoirs by Conservative old heads of government, but one can't help feeling that, say, Joe Clark would have a hard job competing with this stuff." "Our first clue was found in the inner compound," he writes of the Christmas Eve memo, "in the form of the sheered-off face of the first suicide bomber. It had been propelled over and across the building. It was like a truck made of human skin, like something in the movie *Raiders*."

The skin had been peeled off the facial bones and the skull... it was lying flat on the ground, face up." And, indeed, in many of the gripping great snippets with the Taliban, the Blat, John Howard and Jacques Chirac, the general includes a fascinating photograph of the sheered-off face.

Like the old country song says, I dug Musharraf when Musharraf wasn't cool. When he staged his coup (or "counter coup," while calling it) in 1999, I welcomed it in the *National Post* at a time when Lloyd's (now my) our former minister (if you can believe it), was baffled (and a puffin) about getting Pakistan suspended from the Commonwealth. What on earth for? The deposed prime minister, Nawaz Sharif, was a disgusting incompetent presiding over a disreputable regime marred by a series of relatives driving around in a loaded Mercedes. By comparison with the Sharif clan and most of the "democrats" afterwards, the army was one of the least corrupt institutions in the country. "Gen. Musharraf," I wrote seven years ago, "is supported at home because he's promised to end corruption; he should be supported abroad because, by removing Sharif, he's made the region safer."

Don't get me wrong. I think the very creation of Pakistan was one of the worst legacies of the British Empire. Had Lord Mountbatten not decided to bring forward independence by a year, India would have been torn day by 1948, and who's to say whether a leaderless



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None of the other plenty of Canada's national soccer coach Orr's combination of hockey genius and personal trials, argues Stephen Brunt's compelling and unauthorized biography, *Brunt's Bobby Orr*. One of the most effortless skaters ever, Orr revolutionized the role of the defenceman, becoming the first to lead the NHL in scoring. He was a heck of a six foot, playing a key role in the downfall of Alan Boobaloo.



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THE SUBJECT MATTER made them nervous at Radio-Canada, says producer Wayne Grady. "Like, oh boy, this comes with baggage."

Two solitudes, on television too

A CBC miniseries on the FLQ crisis is thrilling and fair. Too bad it won't air in French.

BY BENEDICT ALMON • The Canadian experience suggests that the most efficient way of preserving national unity is to make sure that Canadians never get to talk of the same things at the same time. When we do, we get stuff like the Meech Lake Accord, an attempt at national reconciliation that dissolved into a macabre squabble in 1990. The same problem extends into broad

mixing returns. A few years ago, the CBC and Radio Canada launched an ambitious project: producing a joint television history of Canada. But they quickly ran into language-related problems—how to describe events like the battle of the Plains of Aberta when part of the viewership could be a victory, and another a defeat? Joint ventures between the CBC and Radio Canada are always difficult, and not always successful, a Radio-Canada insider says. “So have two networks, two cultures, two languages, not to say two different national visions, to make to work together.”

So, when a group of English-Canadian producers came to Montreal to peddle a project the CBC had already agreed to relay—an eight-hour miniseries telling the story of the most difficult, violent and divisive episode in recent Canadian history, the October Crisis of 1970, Radio Canada executives did the natural thing to preserve national unity.

As a result, audiences in English Canada will be treated to a fast-paced, highly entertaining police thriller and hostage drama. It has a cast brimming with young, hot Quebec movie and TV stars, and tells the story of what took place in Montreal in a thoughtful, credible way. But francophone viewers won't see it. "It was clear to me from the

acter that the subject matter made them nervous [at Radio Canada]," executive producer and co-writer Wayne Grigsby said in an interview. "Like, oh boy, this comes with a lot of baggage." Many of the Quebec actors approached to play the roles of teenage-taking terrorists, cops and politicians of the time demanded to read the script first, he adds. "They had their doubts."

No wonder, given that the *Desolator* Unit has been the subject of Fendol's debates and conflicting interpretations. On Oct. 5, 1970, a small group of Marxist-inspired FLQ trained, but hopelessly amateurish "volunteers" with the Front de Libération du Québec kidnapped British diplomat James Cross, teaching off a lesson of events that went spectacularly awry, and threatened the country with unprecedented chaos. Cross's abduction was only the beginning of a dark episode that included the kidnapping and murder (the FLQ called it "ex-suiting") of Quebec labour minister Pierre Laparte, the imposition of the War Measures Act, the military occupation of Montreal, and the suspension of civil liberties in Canada.

But October 2010—sitting in a tight, waddy one-hour installment starting Oct. 27—doesn't look like your standard CMC fare. It's more like one of those made-for-TV sci-fi/drama

that certain serious-minded people would never admit to watching. "In other words it's good entertainment." The October film has had to do so to a degree even with other episodes of the *War Movies Act* vs an other institution or not? Grunby says: "Like we just took the basic drama approach of saying, let's see what happened. Let's tell the story of these people." So the viewer lives through these heady times through a series of characters—strangers, their keepers, cops, politicians, all trying to cope with an extraordinary situation—none of them under duress fully, and much less controls.

If Quebecers won't have the chance to watch a television series on Radio Canada about what really happened in Canada during these two tragic months 36 years ago, it seems that this would have played in Quebec — will other Canadians be watching? Recent Quebec-sectored productions that were introduced in English Canada with considerable marketing effort (*The Ascent*, telling the story of hockey giant Maurice Richard, in *Don Cop, Red Cop*, a bilingual police comic strip) fall far short of expectations. The last recent production between Radio Canada and the CBC, telling the story of officers Lemay and Gombert in English Canada, gathering a viewership of 131,000 viewers in its second week last October 1980 should have been, Grigsby says. "I don't understand local television coverage of the FLQ and you have a very can-
scuratory topic." ■



STOP THE PRESSES... RIGHT BOOK, WRONG WRITER

"It's a story about the death of Paul Van Valkenburgh, the Associated Press astronomer who reported that he was co-writer of the 1960 hit song 'My Billy Name Where He/She Picked-Up Bikes under the Name Paul Vance.' The American Society for Composers, Authors and Publishers credits Paul Vance of Westbury, NY, and Lee Rockness of Bridgewater, Conn., with writing the song." —Associated Press, Sept. 27



SPIDER ROBINSON inspired Heinlein as a boy. Later in life, the goofy hippie and the country U.S. Naval Academy grad became friends.

Spider and his long dead co-author

Robert Heinlein inspired the book. It turned out he had some ideas for the ending, too.

BY PAUL WELLS • "The first thing I ever read in my entire life with no pictures in it—the first actual book—was *Robert Ship Galahad* by Robert Heinlein," Spider Robinson recalls. "I was six years old. My mother drove me to an old building and said, 'Go in there and ask the nice lady to give you a book.'"

The old building was a branch of the New York City library. The librarian was about to show little Spider the path of his life. He dutifully asked the book she gave him under his arm: "And I went home and I just... got... fixed," he says. "It was about these three kids who build a rocket ship in their back yard with the help of their uncle. And they go to the moon. And they find Nam hiding out there, trying to set up a fourth death. It was just cooler than hell."

Little Spider ended up reading more classic novels before he read anything else. Years later, when Robinson became a writer himself, he met Heinlein and was amazed to learn his idol was fun at his own work. They became lifelong friends. One, a close old friend, turned straight and country in his manner, graduated of the U.S. Naval Academy who could reasonably have expected to become an admiral. The other, a goofy bearded hippie from the Bronx, a sometime folk singer, 41 years Heinlein's junior. All they had in common, at first, was a boundless faith in human ingenuity. But the level of the younger man for the older helped explain why, 38 years after Heinlein died, a new novel had appeared with both their names on the cover.

Venusian Star is Robinson's book, based on an outline Heinlein wrote in 1955. Well, part of an outline. "Seven pages that ended in the middle of a sentence, in the middle of a story, in mid-air," Robinson, 58, said in an

interview at his home on Bowen Island, just north of Vancouver. He and his wife, Joanne, an author and former dancer, have lived in Canada for 30 years. He became a Canadian citizen in 2002.

As a science-fiction convention in Toronto in 2001, Robinson was on a panel discussing recently discovered Heinlein manuscripts and a Heinlein's emcee mentioned the outline for *Venusian Star*. A woman in the aisle first spontaneously suggested Robinson finish the book. The rest is history.

Robinson was a natural choice. An exuberant writer whose prose brims with optimism, improbably articulate characters and countless puns, Robinson has long been one of the most prominent and beloved authors in science fiction.

The story he wrote was typically wrapping Heinlein tale. A young man (nerved, fix, broke and in love with his girl, Jerry in Vancouver 300 years from today, discovers that she's not another ordinary kid. She's the granddaughter of the machine man the inter-system. He can have her hand and inseparable wishes—if only he'll abandon his dream of being a musician. So he'll be needed to run the family business, too. Just escapes his dilemma, gives up a leader, and signs up for duty on a colony ship leaving on a 10-year journey to a distant star. Goodbye everything.

He knew Heinlein, interview *Esquire* magazine. More than any writer of his generation, Heinlein never let the space gods get in the way of his big-headed human tales.

Robinson was just settled in to telling the tale when he ran past the end of Heinlein's outline, the title *Venusian Star*. Copying running past the cliff edge. "Two weeks later I was banging my head against the desk and saying, 'What the hell is I going to do for an ending?'" he says. Fortunately he had his friend on. The name player finished his last *Star* series and delivered on the next series in an alpha-beta-delta-delta-delta. Robert, Joanne Heinlein Robinson head a recording of a 1987 *Library* radio interview, including three scenarios that inspired the ending of *Venusian Star*.

So Heinlein started the project and helped to end it. Robinson filled in the rest. The novel gaddies one of their most the relief as gawwies. "We've got to get out of this place as it'll be the last thing we'll ever do," Robinson says. "This place is our earth, our solar system. For reasons of prudence (humanity's eggs should not stay in this one basket), a desire to exploit the universe's endless resources, and simple justice, Robinson heaves, as Heinlein did, that it's time to get out and look around the universe. Chapter one of *Venusian Star* features a song that sings: David Crosby, another Heinlein fan, has clearly set to music: *It's the reason we come from the west, don't you know? 'Cause we wanted to close to the stars.*"



OUT OF THIS WORLD... ZERO GRAVITY SURGERY

French doctors last week removed a cyst from a patient's knee while the operating room was in a state of weightlessness. An A-300 used to train astronauts by plunging into its 200-foot-dive that simulates weightlessness, had been fitted with an operating room to examine the possibility of surgery in space. So far, no conclusions, but the patient, Philippe Senet, was completely at ease with the procedure. On earth he's a second-rate bungee jumper.



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SPIT-ROASTED guinea pigs are a popular food in Ecuador, where they are often home-cooked and eaten on special occasions, like Easter

Mmmm...do I smell armadillo?

Fierce food tips: avoid boodog (it has bubonic plague fleas), but try the fried manguely worms

BY BRIAN BETHUNE • Humans, of course, will eat things that even a crow wouldn't touch, which is saying a lot. And there are moments in all our lives when comfort food just doesn't cut it, and haute cuisine seems to lack that certain je ne sais quoi (if only ability, perhaps). That's the time, particularly if you happen to be in a part of the world where health inspectors are not thick on the ground, to pull out a copy of *Chrisna Wolf's Pinner food* and see what the books might have to offer. Still, it's only prudent to do a little preliminary research on eating up, roasted boodog, especially if your medical insurance isn't good for Mongolia. Wolf lists the "extreme" aspect of pursuing this delicacy from lambs to venison, the boodog is a murrelet, a seabirdling said to taste that's one of the main sources of boudog plague flies, which are killed by heat, it's cooked from the inside out by the insertion of red-hot rocks, the cooking is finished off by applying an industrial-strength blowtorch (or flame-thrower borrowed from the Mongolian army) to the fat. To be sure, back to the good, Wolf notes: boudog-hot, plague-bearing flies—will jump.

That's the kind of value-added service that distinguishes *Pinner Food*. Aided by a series of icons that provide information at a glance in the manner of Michelin hotel guides, a reader can tell instantly what "tastes like chicken" (indicated by a hen's head) and what might send you to the emergency ward (look for an old man searching a bomb in his face). Among the other icons, a few hint at close attention: a frowny face, meaning "isn't really"; three vertical wavy lines, "incredibly really"; and, perhaps most important, a circle with a dot dead center for "has eyes."

This is a serious book, at least according

to Wolf, however cheerful its tone. The author wants her readers to go back to "the raw thrills and chills of childhood—the unfamiliar tastes, the unexpected textures, the question marks of whether you'll like it." She just doesn't want anyone being able to blame her for the results. Wolf has read about two-thirds of the 72 foods she lists alphabetically and plans, "with a few significant exceptions," on plowing through the rest. She's not entirely forthcoming about just what she wouldn't touch with a 20-foot pole, but a close reading allows some guesses.

Take armadillo, for instance. It's just as well that increased prosperity has banished the Depression-era staple from the table, because the armadillo is the only other creature besides humans to carry leprosy. Moreover, the half-blind animal has a lot of jumping high in the air when it senses a threat. However well this works at confusing coyotes, it's the very definition of counterproductive when the overarching producer is actually a Mink truck. (The armadillo's pride of place in many roadside cookbooks is hard won indeed.) Simple decency thus puts preference in Wolf's judgment: best to leave the poor, suicidal, leprosy-carrying animal alone.

It doesn't seem likely she'd go for caviar either. No caviar food in her catalogue bears more icons, even all-involving health

danger, special techniques, incredibly costly and—in some places—illegal, although the last effect may only be its sexual appeal that often follows a brush with danger. In contrast, the only icon of the more dubious kind missing from the list is "has eyes." That's because *caviar murelet* is a Sardanian cheese, literally "murelet cheese," that packs even more punch via the translucent worms in it. The eight murelets offer an additional freeze: they can bend themselves so tightly that, when they let go, the force unleashed propels them six inches or more. That's why Sardanians eat their *caviar murelet* wrapped in bread, to avoid the possibility of getting a worm shot to the eye when dining in for a bite.

On the other hand, Wolf fairly radiates enthusiasm when discussing the manguely worm. That's the one most exotic morsel not have encountered only at the bottom of a mineral bottle. Forget the potted variety, Wolf advises: deep fried, with a side of guacamole, the Manguely worms are "incredibly good." Even more surprising is *nanu*, a dish Japanese cooks love to serve first-time foreign guests: a bowl of small brown beans without lions, mustard and a white film that "looks extremely like milkshakes." The shew, and the way *nanu* is eaten (long flames that look your lips to the bowl, make sure "deeply, deeply" food that's extremely healthy and, after about four tries, tasty).

Perhaps best of all, like Wolf's other fierce favorites, it has no eyes. ■



TODAY'S SPECIAL: WELSH-SPEAKING BEEF

A rare is supplying the British Marks & Spencer chain of stores with Welsh beef for its festive menu. The secret, according to an Irish spokesman, is that of the Celtic Cymru farm, the Welsh Black cows take their leisure on farm miles while farmhands whisper to them only in Welsh. The language, explains Monmouth University linguist Martin Jones, "is more melodic than English," and that makes the animals

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ROGERS
BY MONTREAL

INSTRUCTIONS FOR anyone who wants to get speedy advice on, say, how to live with hipster dander

How to do absolutely everything

Want to stop laughing inappropriately, give a hamster a bath, do a backflip? Visit wikiHow.

BY KIRRICCA ADDELMAN • Sandra Crane is a 75-year-old retired great-grandmother living alone in Minnesota Springs, Fla. Every morning, she gets up, prepares breakfast, and heads to her computer, where she spends the next eight hours teaching the world how to do everything from making love to coffee to running up a wall and backflipping. Crane is the biggest contributor to the Internet's newest and most collaborative how-to manual, wikiHow—a website that relies on volunteers like her to write and edit its content.

WikiHow (www.wikihow.com) was born when Jack Herrick and Josh Hattala, the former owners and operators of Howcast, the Internet's largest how-to manual, became intrigued in the wiki world—an approach in the Web where an communal ownership that had made a handful of name sites of the online encyclopedia Wikipedia. They decided to join the successful effort, and instead of professional writers, in favor of a "whoever wants to contribute can" wiki.

"The goal [I always had] was that creative how-to manual with everything in it," says Herrick. "And I became frustrated running alone. You could pay writers to write about a topic that is valuable to an advertiser. For example, we wrote about mortgages and online education. But I also wanted stuff about how to give a snail pet a bath."

The wiki community has delivered. Search "snail pet bath" on wikiHow and you'll find dozens of articles, including "Give a snail dog a bath," "Give your hamster a bath," and "Give your cat a bath without fear." Less than two years in, wikiHow claims more than 2 million visitors every month. And though it's smaller than eBay, it attracts no rapid expansion—it already has over 11,000 articles

(www.khow/1177000)—and is diverse. There is an impressive variety of topics: how to fold a shirt, how to make an orgasm omelet, how to stop laughing when you laugh at soap-prize prizes, how to survive a panic attack, how to survive a friendly rap battle. One current favorite is, "How to grow old without feeling old." Herrick is already working on French, Spanish, German, Turkish, Arabic and Hebrew versions. "What you're getting," says Travis Dornan, wikiHow's Perth, Ont.-born engineer, "is this collaboration from people from all around the world and different backgrounds. It's really exciting."

The wiki model is an absolute voice of the Internet, where everyone gets involved and shares. Dornan believes that volunteers with first-hand knowledge contribute better articles than professional writers. For Herrick, the editing is what counts. "Instead of a group of editors that sit in New York City, it's everyone who's reading the wiki whose job becomes one of quality management," he says. Decisions on what to contribute: Unlike the content is blatantly offensive or the girl, a bad article is put up to a vote to decide if it stays or goes. Some articles the wikiHow community has owned: "Succeeding with drunk chicks at parties," "How to hate your self," and "How to run in tight circles." Or because it was "useless." Some they're kept?

"Be the prettiest girl in school and get all the guys," and "How to act like Steven Seagal."

But credibility is even more crucial here than it is for Wikipedia. It's one thing for an encyclopedia to get up. Wikipedia's Churchill's birthday wrong. It's another to give speedy advice on how to live with bipolar disorder. The most popular article by Crane, a former newspaper copy editor who has written 69 of wikiHow's instructional guides, is "How to stop eating yourself." "I have never known a cutter," she says the Florida retiree, "I have never seen a cutter. But by listening to them and using my own common sense, I'm able to help them." But as Leslie Regan Shade, assistant professor of communications at Concordia University, points out, "Mistake for health information when it can go to an excellent resource such as the Mayo Clinic."

Release is an even bigger issue, says Marco Adina, a professor in communications and technology at the University of Alberta. He thinks wikiHow's advice is too easy and fragmented for most people to find useful. "Their 10,000th article was 'How to eat dark chocolate,'" he says. "While there is a probably community of chocolate connoisseurs, what one person finds interesting may be of no interest to even that person's closest friends." Adina predicts that as wikiHow grows, it will become more and more specialized, making it increasingly irrelevant. On the other hand, if you're a Steven Seagal fan, court your lady luck! ■



MOST IMPROVED CRAIG CHARLES

On director Lloyd Mullerby he can Confrontation Street (and to live down a part of fiscal and betrayal). And since recovering from an addiction to crack cocaine, the actor who played Mullerby is trying to live his own past. Charles arrived in the UK after a newspaper photograph of him taking the drug in the back of a car. Last week, Charles was reportedly in tears when Corrie's producers invited him to return to the soap opera in January.

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Hackman, ham and George W.: Reasons to give thanks



When the details and trappings of our annual holidays were being dished, Thanksgiving pretty much got bored. It isn't harder to reach as one's become accustomed

TV special. It doesn't have a cult following like *Christmas (Stuart Little)* or *Kiss Kiss (The Bachelor)* or *New Year's Eve (Daddy's Little Princess)*. You wake up on Thanksgiving morning and you don't even get anything—except for uncounted hours of handouts and gratitude from the people you care about, and those are completely worthless, the pay at the power shop told me again this year.

On the other hand, Thanksgiving does beat Labour Day, which not only marks an end to summer but gives as a day off work that counts as removed a lot of work, which is more. It's therefore out of respect for the fact that it's Thanksgiving that I give you something that has about only as little value—except for a lot of my thoughts.

This year, I'm thankful for ...
... the floating but wisp-like moment when Rose O'Donnell says the hell up
... old friends from university who have put on even more weight than I have, God bless them
... the compelling acceptance of advertising wizard at Chrysler/Chrysler What a business, making the company's chairman, who's German, to be in the autumn's TV commercial. A German pitching American cars like Jeeps and Dodges in America? Now that's an idea that's almost as promising as certain marriages in Larry King. The only way he makes any sense of it's in leading up to a dramatic ad in which he looks into the eye of the back of a Dodge Caravan and calls the unimpressive D 200 a "new man while wearing an American flag."
... the relentless pop and radio/fable stories of the people who live in Mexico world ... it is.

... the GREC, because I'm an atheist with Canadian and children's possibly decide for itself what to watch on that big, scary TV ... the person who took the "hell" and, in a moment of divine inspiration, added the "had" ... the fact that no matter what may change in this happy-very world of ours, Veronica Lodge can always have Arthur from Italy's side by being around her daddy's cash and promising to pay out. Oh, Arthur, and you never knew!
... the never-ending supply of old and recent Hilary put out by the White House. George W. Bushing from the American people some sentimental words that are all S. president since ... well, since the pay before him. When Bush leaves office, the world will have enjoyed a spectacular 36-year run of character flaws, enough to be and ludicrous signs. Of those held on to the considering a 2001 run for the White House, it must be asked: "How do you plan to keep America from

paying two cents in off-budget taxes to pay for them?" "The guy" are somehow taking away all their rights
... the alibi of Starbucks, which gets a bump up from those who forget how hard it used to be to find a cup of coffee that didn't taste as though the beans had been roasted in uranium and then paid on by them only ... the smell of cut grass
... very special episodes of success, especially ones where the teen female lead decides in the end that, no, she won't get it up, even though it will mean the quarterback of the high school football team will probably change her, but then it turns out that he wanted to wait too!
... the adorable scenes of desperation evident in the narrative officers of the Big Three universities (No money down! Cash back! Free weekly back rubs!)
... the legal convictions of a free society,



And thanks for the incentives from the Big Three: Cash back! No money down! Free back rubs!

nothing in less business deficit is a given, then? And you, over your own pair of clown shoes is a good start, Mr. Gore ... the enduring allure of Swiss country ... the PNT that allows me to watch the good parts of *The Daily Show* and *The Colbert Report* in a total of 13 minutes
... more stars like George Hackman who do commercial voice-over work for charitable retail outlets. You, you get paid contributions some to speak into a microphone, his, four minutes. And I'm fine with that. But there's something immensely appealing about the idea of someone as rich as George Hackman making up for knowing that he's occasionally obliged to talk publicly about how he or she came to get married, because few things in life are more entertaining than watching

which hold that I can refer to Ryan Adams as a musician because that totally can be seen if he says me by putting me in the face ... the fact that Robert DeNiro made a bunch of good movies before he got scary in 1990 (if only he had had the decency to quit performing at the same time ...)
... Minka, which appears as long as it has served the "toes down" led to the Adventure Campfire Sand Farm, when he is free to roam the pastoral grounds and state with the Alibi Club.
... "Doesn't apply if I had to get off my ass and out it"

ON THE WEB: For Scott Perich's take on the news of the day visit his new subscription www.macleans.ca/feedback

TUESDAY NIGHT FOOTBALL

Prime time sports dramas rarely work. That's because mainstream TV seldom can afford to invest in pecking into the locker room and the psyche of athletes—preferring the strategy of *winning my means and courtesans*. But *Friday Night Lights*, about a fictional high school football team in Texas—it's based loosely on H.G. Wells' *The Time Machine* and Billy Bob Thornton's 2004 box-office flop with the same name—could be the exception. The series (airing Tuesdays on Global) is beautifully shot and focuses its reach on the gridiron as it does on the relationships between the players and the small town of football fixation.

PNL suffers from a few dichotomies—the star quarterback is dating a pretty cheerleader; the re's racist version in the locker room; and the team's new head coach, played by Kyle Chandler (the short-lived beer expert in *Grey's Anatomy* last season), is weighed down with the pressures of an entire town's high expectations. But the acting is solid and the show is about much more than just football. Like the *O.C.*, the adult and teen characters are given equal attention and are as compelling off the field as they are on it. And the football action has an urgency—apartness, in fact—it's not just for the small screen. For that alone, it deserves extra points. *John Irvine*



FRIDAY NIGHT LIGHTS scores big on and off the field

FROM T-BONE GLACIER TO CHICKEN LIVER CHANNEL

Vietnamese-born *Goat* magazine has now gathered its hand-drawn thematic maps into one of the season's most memorable books. The *Goat Atlas of Canada* is filled with astonishingly detailed (and just plain astonishing) maps. The *Meat Map* lists a few more than 100 place names like Litchford, Lamb-O-Land, Reek and Ten de Hout Mountain. On a more patriotic note, readers can peruse the beer map, the daughter map, naturally, the hockey map. *Brian Kellner*



COWABUNGA, MAN!

Tales of the Rat Pack's no ordinary decadence put to its subject, *Big Daddy*. But a new wave of graphic artists in the '90s, from *Street Art* to *Street Art*, who seemed an anti-Mickey Mouse character to whom history, the Rat Pack, a genre, by-industry, became a cultural phenomenon. Director Ron Munn not only lays out the Rat Pack's fascinating history, but links them with contemporary culture—for instance, that Simpson is a modern-day descendant. *Standa Dearth*



AT LEAST LOOK LIKE A PRO

The updated "M" logo of hockey equipment maker Mizuno has been popping up more and more in NHL rings. With good reason: Mizuno's new helmet, the *hazelnut*, worn by the Stars' Mike Ribeiro and the Flyers' Darryl Sittler, is one of the lightest and most comfortable on the market—and it looks good too. *Colin Campbell*



CLASSICAL RAGGEDY-ASSED CHAMBER MUSIC

Championed in *The New Yorker* while still at the helm, and by Philip Glass in an editor and by the 10-year-old American composer Nico Muhly seems to be a life of a chamber life. His debut album, *Sparks*, is a raggedy-assed chamber music hybrid with electronic and cold, wild

less vocals. In his hands of John Adams and John Tavener, it is a continuously fascinating. And one modern piece, Robert Muth's *Heart* is equally beautiful. *Fred Wolf*



TV SPACE INVADERS

If you love *The Simpsons* for its small ambiguity, then don't miss *Star Trek: Voyager* (season three starts Oct. 7 on Space). The two-hour premiere has a creepy (100-degree flip on America's in wilderness) tag. The good guys (bunnies) are the marginers who are willing to do anything necessary to distribute the Quidian human government and to Cylon "allies." *Patricia Tindle*

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MICHELE PALMIERI

1941-2005

Working so hard, he never had much time for politics. The Liberals waited for their moment.

Michele Palmieri was born on May 4, 1941, in Pizzoferrato, a small and remote farming village in the province of Chieti in the Abruzzo region of central Italy. He was the youngest of four children, but soon found himself his parents' only male heir after his older brother became a war casualty, dying in a land mine explosion. His family scraped a meagre living from the farm, raising cattle but producing barely enough food to get by. It was a life of hardship and misery, his son Marcello says today. "My father told me that, as a child, he had to take the sheep out to graze in places that were so far away he could not walk back home at night. At 12, he had to sleep all alone out there, in the middle of nowhere."

In Italy at that time, elementary school was free up to Grade 5; after that, parents had to pay for tuition. So at age 12, Michele Palmieri considered his formal education to be complete, and he started working full-time on the farm. "Work, hard work is what has defined my father's life," Marcello says. "Work, and old-fashioned values of loyalty and sacrifice." When he turned 18, Michele Palmieri did what many able-bodied Italian peasants did at the time—he emigrated, to look for employment and support his family back home.

He found work in Germany, as a labourer for a clockmaker. His wife, Antonia, whom he married at age 21, stayed in Pizzoferrato, to tend to the farm and raise their young family—four of their five children were born there. For 11 years, Michele lived a life torn between work and love. Eventually, because Michele's boss appreciated his work ethic so much, he found a place for the whole family to live, not far from the shop. "We came very close to being German instead of Canadian," says Marcello, the only one of his siblings to be born in Canada.

But Michele decided to follow in the footsteps of his older sister, Elisabetta, who had already moved to Canada. He landed in Montreal in 1973 with a wife, four kids, a lot of luggage, and little else but an immigrant's humble dedication to making a living in his new country. Antonia's sister lived in Toronto, and the family moved there for a few months to give the place a look. But they didn't like it, and moved back to the Ahuntsic district of Montreal, where the family has been ever since.

Settling in Montreal, Michele paid \$500 for an old, beat-up Pontiac, and started looking for work. He found a job, and kept it for the rest of his life—even though it was not the easiest work. "He worked the night shift—he closed the plant at 1 a.m. and cleaned up the place, while also acting as night watchman," says Romano Ramacieri, owner of Les Entrepôts du Nord in Laval. In the 32 years Palmieri worked there, the business went from a slaughterhouse to

a refrigerated warehouse. "Michele never complained," Ramacieri says. "He was a serious, hard-working, family man." His hands, his son says today, "told the whole story of his life. They were bruised and swollen, and felt like sandpaper." Michele would leave home for work at around 3 in the afternoon, and would come back as the kids were getting out of bed at daybreak. He "never missed a single day of work, in all those years," says Ramacieri.

Those who knew him say Michele did not have much time or energy for socializing or politics. But hard work and thrift enabled him to acquire two neighbouring buildings, a duplex and a triplex. He joined the two small lots to create a luscious patch where tomatoes, roses, grapevines and huge squash prospered. "Sometimes, on Sundays, he'd go to the park and play a game of bocce with whoever was hanging out there," his son says. "But that was about all. When he was not

at work, he was in his garden. My father brought his love of gardening from Italy with him." And, true to form for an immigrant from Abruzzo, he made his own wine—partly from his own grapes.

On Dec. 5, 2005, while at work, Michele Palmieri died of a massive stroke. He was buried in the Cimetière Laval, after a service in his Catholic parish church, Our Lady of Pompei. Nine months after his death, Michele Palmieri mysteriously, and famously, became a full-fledged member of the Liberal Party of Canada. In mid-September, the postman brought him and Antonia a one-year membership card they had neither requested nor paid for. That membership card would have given Palmieri the right to support a candidate, and vote for a slate of Ahuntsic delegates to the party's December leadership convention. Joe Volpe and his Liberal leadership campaign team have been fined \$20,000, and have accepted responsibility for "inappropriate activity." **BY BENOIT AUBIN**

